



## **Valorising imaginaries: Seizing opportunities in the Colombian Coffee Region**

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# Abstract

The subject for the present thesis is the construction of the Coffee Region in Colombia as a tourism destination. The thesis adds knowledge to the fields of construction of place and place identity by investigating how space and place are defined through the negotiation of capitals between both national and international actors. In continuation, the research question guiding the thesis is as follows: *How is the construction of place identity in the Colombian Coffee Region influenced by the negotiation of coffee space?*

The case study is the Coffee Region in central Colombia, comprised of the departments Risaralda, Quindío, Caldas, and Valle de Cauca. Primary data for the thesis was collected during three weeks of on-site fieldwork in Bogotá, the Coffee Region, and Medellín in January 2018. Secondary data collected through desk research also supports the analysis and the methodology employed for data collection and analysis consists of participant observation, various forms of interviews, and document analysis. Overall, the methodology and research approach are based in social constructivism and emphasise the subjective nature of social science research and the creation of knowledge.

The theoretical framework supporting the analysis comprises concepts of heritage tourism, imaginaries, postmodernity, authenticity, space and place, mobility, capitals, and power. The theories allow us to analyse the research question taking many perspectives into account and to provide nuanced insights into how place is constructed in the case study. The analysis demonstrates that the Colombian Coffee Growers' Federation (FNC) has managed to reframe the identity of the Coffee Region through the creation of the brand Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC). The FNC utilised its symbolic, cultural, and social capital to position itself in a way which allowed it to create a relation with the Colombian Tourism Ministry and to obtain UNESCO World Heritage status for the Coffee Region as defined in the CCLC brand. The purpose of creating the CCLC is to capitalise on identified market opportunities to increase tourism in the region as well as the consumption of Colombian specialty coffee both inside and outside of Colombia. Thus, before authenticating the identity of the Coffee Region through UNESCO certification, the FNC modified the heritage to also include an element of consumption of high quality coffee alongside traditional characteristics such as architecture, arts, and the inhabitants of the region. The CCLC presents the Coffee Region identity as homogenous and does not consider the discrepancy which the fieldwork for this thesis has uncovered. As such, an analysis of how the imaginaries disseminated through the CCLC are physically manifested in place demonstrates that different local tourism actors only manifest the elements to a limited degree. This shows that various understandings of coffee identity exist simultaneously and highlights the social construction and negotiation of place. The thesis further concludes that by strategically utilising its capitals, the FNC manages to successfully establish this new narrative without needing to create physical modifications in the Coffee Region. This model for regional tourism development, including its long term sustainability, is proposed as a strand of further research.

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Motivation for choosing the topic

*Which role does cultural heritage play in contemporary tourism? Who utilises shared culture in tourism and to the benefit of whom? Which role does heritage play in defining present-day place identity?* These are some of the questions which this thesis aims to investigate and provide insights into.

Throughout at least the past five decades, there has been a global trend concerned with employing heritage and cultural features as a way to differentiate a destination in the competitive tourism market (UNESCO, n.d.-e). The history, personal stories, and cultural artefacts are elements which cannot easily be replicated and therefore serve as unique selling points in the endeavour to stand out. When highlighting the heritage of a place, connotations of the simple past life are often evoked, bringing contemporary individuals back into a time where life was more straightforward, more carefree, and seemingly void of conflict (Salazar, 2011). These strategies are also employed in Colombia; a country which, in a tourism context, is an emerging destination. Colombia has struggled with a poor image due to the past few decades of drug-related crime and violence as well as a bloody rebellion by the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia*, often referred to by its abbreviation FARC. Colombian society is less tormented by these things today but is still attempting to overcome the aftermath of them as a tourism destination (MINCIT, 2011-a). One of the tools used to rewrite the narrative about Colombia is the commodification of the country's heritage. One of the elements of Colombia most known in the world, besides the previously-mentioned violence, is coffee. Coffee constitutes one of the country's most important export goods and has been cultivated for centuries. It is thus important to the country both economically and historically. In recent years, Colombian stakeholders have identified the opportunity to also employ coffee in a tourism context and as an element in the rebranding of the country. The history of Colombian coffee is being unfolded and commodified in a number of ways as part of a new narrative relaying notions of a hardworking, entrepreneurial people living in harmony with nature, with strong familial ties, and deep cultural roots in the region (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The commodification of Colombian coffee culture and history is visible on both a strategic national and international level as well as in concrete coffee tourism attractions where very specific elements are framed as being essential for Colombian coffee identity. The narrative of Colombian coffee contains both elements with historical roots as well as newer elements. This thesis investigates how the redefinition of Colombian coffee identity is happening, through which negotiations and by which actors. We



use theories related to e.g. postmodernity and heritage tourism, placemaking, imaginaries, and power to uncover some of the mechanisms which are at play in the process of renegotiating, redefining, and commodifying the cultural heritage of the country. The insights gained from this thesis are useful in other contexts as well because they shed light on how place identity is negotiated and how places are constructed on a political and local level through a negotiation between various actors with very different positions and degrees of power.

## 1.2 Overview of the thesis

Besides our motivation for choosing the subject, this introductory chapter includes our research question, research aims, and considerations for our research question. The following chapter is dedicated to our methodological considerations, including our choice and considerations concerning philosophy of science, trustworthiness of our research, field description, and the methods utilised during data collection. Furthermore, the chapter includes choices of sampling and coding methods, our ethical considerations and, lastly, the limitations to our research. The third chapter focuses on our theoretical considerations. Based on our approach to our topic and the formulated research question, we have chosen theoretical concepts which will guide our analysis and help answer our research question. In the theoretical section, we unfold our approach to each of the theoretical concepts and relate it to the topic of our research. The next chapter contains our analysis which employs the theoretical framework. Through the analysis of our empirical data as well as secondary data, we aim to unfold discussions concerning our topic and to answer our research question. The first part of the analysis is dedicated to identifying and understanding the actors who negotiate and renegotiate Colombian coffee identity and through which capitals and means of power they do this. Furthermore, we analyse the imaginaries which exist and are created about Colombian coffee identity and how these are spread through the mobility of different actors and flows of information. Lastly, we aim to understand how these imaginaries about coffee culture are defined as heritage and are branded. Further, we analyse how coffee identity is physically manifested in the Colombian Coffee Region. The final section is dedicated to our concluding thoughts and considerations for future research.

## 1.3 Research question and research aims

The research question guiding the thesis takes its point of departure in the motivation described previously. We aim to unfold how the Colombian Coffee Region is constructed as a tourism place and how its identity is renegotiated by various actors. The research question formulated on this basis guides the choices and analysis throughout the thesis and it is further divided into three research aims which assist in exploring it.

### **Research question**

How is the construction of place identity in the Colombian Coffee Region influenced by the negotiation of coffee space?

### Research aims

- Which actors construct the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee identity through the negotiation of which capitals?
- Which imaginaries influence the construction of coffee identity in the Coffee Region?
- How is the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC) imaginary about Colombian coffee identity established and physically manifested?



## 2 Methodology

This chapter contains our methodological considerations for the thesis and provides a field description of our research about coffee tourism in Colombia. The chapter consists of several sections starting with our choice and considerations for our methodological approach. This includes positioning ourselves in the paradigm of interpretivism and the inquiry paradigm of social constructivism. Next, we outline our ontological, epistemological, and methodological stances of social constructivism. The section ends with our situatedness in and reflections about the research. Next, we move on to a section describing the trustworthiness of our research which is enhanced through triangulation, followed by a section providing a field description, and situating our methodology in the context of our research. This leads to a section providing a description of the methods we have used, how informants and secondary data was sampled, and how we have coded our data. Lastly, the chapter contains a section dedicated to our ethical considerations and limitations.

### 2.1 Philosophy of science - choice and considerations

#### 2.1.1 Paradigm

A paradigm is a certain set of beliefs which are socially constructed and contain a specific understanding which forms a world view, informing how the world is, how it can be understood, and how it should be interpreted. Kuhn (1962, cited in Egholm, 2014) describes paradigms as an evolution, starting at pre-science and through scientific advancement it moves into normal science where a new paradigm and understanding of the world is established. This process happens over and over again. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) argue that there are four major paradigms which structure research, namely positivism, post-positivism, the critical paradigm, and the interpretive paradigm. Our research is situated in the latter. However, we provide a brief overview of the first three paradigms before arguing for our choice of interpretivism.

#### **Positivism, post-positivism, and the critical paradigm**

*“Positivism believes only in the existence of one real (observable) world”* (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 34). In positivism, it is assumed that there is one ‘real’ reality. The basis of the research is purely objective and value free and, as such, there is no relationship between the researcher and the researched and the researcher can be substituted by any other researcher. Only through the objectiveness of the research can we understand how

the world truly works, according to positivism (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Post-positivism steps away from the idea of total objectivity and accepts the subjectivity of the researcher's background, values, and knowledge and how it can influence the research. However, post-positivism still sees objectivity as the goal and pursues objectivity by recognising the effects of the researcher's own biases (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). The critical paradigm criticises both positivism and post-positivism by arguing that searching for one true reality is flawed, that social life develops in a pluralistic fashion, and that the researcher's ethics, values, and knowledge need to be considered in the research. In particular, feminist scholars argue that the idea of complete objectivity, as pursued in positivism, is a generalisation of normative ideals across the entire social order, based on the subjectivity of a select group of people who are in positions of power and prestige. For knowledge to be considered as truth, researchers need to become aware of *"the ideological imperatives and epistemological presuppositions that inform their research"* (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 35).

### **Interpretivism**

Interpretivists disagree with positivist and post-positivist researchers that it is only a qualified researcher who can produce knowledge. Rather, the social world is a complex one and can only be understood from the point of view of those who operate within it (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). This means that data can only be collected through the interaction between the researcher and the researched who produce knowledge together and this interaction is key for both doing research and understanding research (Schwandt, 1998, cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). In this context, we understand the research object as both human informants, secondary material, and the physical research field which the researcher observes and interacts with. Therefore, understandings occurring from observations and experiences in the field are also considered interactions. Another important aspect of interpretative research is transparency and reflexivity. It is important to demonstrate how knowledge has been produced in research in order to ascertain the trustworthiness of it. This includes knowing the context of the production of knowledge, i.e. how it relates to a specific temporal, geographic, and social moment (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). This thesis is placed in the paradigm of interpretivism. Our research is based on obtaining an understanding through relationships between us as researchers and the researched.



## 2.1.2 Inquiry paradigm and social constructivism

Inquiry paradigm refers to what falls within and outside of legitimate inquiry. There are three elements which are important in defining which inquiry paradigm the research belongs to, namely ontology, epistemology, and methodology. These three concepts refer to how we understand knowledge and knowledge production. Knowledge relies heavily upon both the ontology of the research and the researcher's epistemology, and, further, the kind of knowledge the researcher seeks determines their choice of methodology (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004).

Based in interpretivism, we apply social constructivism as our inquiry paradigm. Social constructivism maintains that knowledge is constructed through relationships. When doing research as social constructivists, it is necessary to look at how people and places are socially constructed through their relationships with others but also to recognise our own role in the construction of social relations and places, accepting this to be an important part of knowledge production (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). In the next sections, we provide a description of the ontology, epistemology, and methodology underlying social constructivism.

### **Ontology**

Ontology is the study of being. It *"raises questions about the nature of reality while referring to the claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social inquiry makes about the nature of social reality"* (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004, p. 34). Our ontological standpoint lies in constructivism which is in opposition to realism. Realism does not consider human consciousness part of the investigation of the nature of objects, relationships, and characteristics. Constructivism, on the other hand, views the social world as constructed by people and it therefore only exists because people construct it. Therefore, it does not have meaning in itself, such as a realist would argue. In constructivism, we argue that elements comprising the social world can only be researched through our own understanding of them. Furthermore, the elements of the social world are defined by the meaning which the observer assigns to them (Egholm, 2014).

### **Epistemology**

Epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge. Epistemology is concerned with how knowledge is constructed, how it is produced, and how we can know something. Furthermore, it is interested in the credibility and validity of the production of the research and truth is an important part of this, i.e. how we can argue one thing to be true and another to be untrue (Egholm, 2014). Epistemology can be understood from two standpoints, namely subjectivity and objectivity. In objectivity, the researcher is free of observer bias which is the

only way a researcher can obtain credible research outcomes. Opposite objectivity is subjectivity and this is our epistemological standpoint as social constructivists. This means that we as researchers cannot be separated from the researched as the investigation happens through our interpretation. As social constructivists, we can only construct knowledge through social interaction and thus several truths can exist because truths are based on those who construct and interpret knowledge ([Egholm, 2014](#)).

## **Methodology**

Methodology is the study of how we collect knowledge about the world. Methodology can be divided into quantitative research, qualitative research, and mixed methods which comprise both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Some disciplines within tourism, e.g. marketing and economics, have traditionally applied mainly quantitative methods, focusing on testing hypotheses and identifying objective truths while other disciplines such as anthropology and sociology have long used qualitative methods. In tourism studies, qualitative research was critiqued for being non-scientific and could only be used together with quantitative methods. However, tourism research has begun to acknowledge interpretivist research and the researcher's role in tourism and his/her relationship with tourists, hosts, places etc. is acknowledged as playing an important role in tourism research, e.g. in analysing tourism experiences. As social constructivists, we see tourism spaces as socio-cultural constructions rather than merely physical locations. Therefore, our methodological approach to research is based on qualitative methods where we take into account subjectivity, ethics, values, and politics as important parts of conducting research and producing knowledge. This way of conducting research is a non-linear process where we as researchers seek different pieces of the puzzle and we do so until we have as complete a picture as possible ([Phillimore & Goodson, 2004](#)). No one set of methods can give us total insight but by combining various methods, we aim to gain as much insight as possible and thereby produce trustworthy knowledge. In section 2.2.1, we expand on the concept of trustworthiness in interpretive research.

## **Reflexivity and situatedness**

As social constructivists, we do not look at the research objectively from the outside but situate ourselves within the context of the field in order to construct knowledge through social interaction. By doing so, we need to acknowledge our own pre-understandings and cultural backgrounds and reflect on our own understanding of things when we interact with others. By being culturally reflexive, we are aware of our own biases in our research ([Phillimore & Goodson, 2004](#)).

## 2.2 Methods

Our overall research process can be described as inductive and grounded. We began by collecting primary data through fieldwork and secondary data through online desk research and then developed our problem formulation and theoretical framework afterwards. The inductive nature of the research is also visible in the coding method which is elaborated upon in the next section.

### 2.2.1 Trustworthiness of qualitative research

As outlined above, the rejection of some disciplines of qualitative research methods stems from the viewpoint that data which cannot be generalised and treated statistically and objectively provides largely unscientific analyses and research results, only useful for creating a foundation for quantitative research. The scepticism can be countered with standards of trustworthiness which are important to increase the acceptance of qualitative research methods and results. The concept of trustworthiness in qualitative research parallels the concepts of validity and reliability in positivist, quantitative research (Decrop, 2004). Erlandson et al. state that trustworthiness can “*demonstrate truth value, provide the basis for applying it [the research], and allow for external judgements to be made about the consistency of its procedures and the neutrality of its findings or decisions*” (1993, p. 29, cited in Decrop, 2004, pp. 156-157).

Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Decrop, 2004) have created a typology of four criteria by which to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research. The criteria, each one parallel to a quantitative criterion, are:

- **Credibility:** Refers to how truthful findings are and is parallel to the criterion of internal validity. In qualitative research, it has to do with e.g. being aware of the integrated relation between researcher and object, limiting biases, and avoiding selective perception.
- **Transferability:** Refers to the applicability of research findings in other contexts and is parallel to the concept of external validity. A common critique of qualitative research is that findings apply only to non-representative small-scale cases chosen through non-random sampling and cannot be scaled up to provide a statistical generalisation. However, findings can often form the basis of analytical generalisation which enables the transfer of analytical observations onto other research contexts. Therefore, the term transferability is utilised.
- **Dependability:** Refers to the degree to which findings can be reproduced and are consistent. In other words, the degree to which the same interpretation would be

reached by other researchers under the same conditions. It is parallel to the criterion of reliability. In qualitative research, it refers to the correspondence between recorded data and actual events. It makes no sense to discuss replicability because, from an interpretivist standpoint, knowledge is always context dependent and the context is always changing, thus making exact replication impossible.

- Confirmability refers to how neutral findings are and it is parallel to the concept of objectivity. While a researcher can arguably never be entirely objective because of his/her situatedness, the analytical process can be objective when the researcher investigates various potential explanations or causes for the phenomena studied and gives access to the data forming the basis for interpretations and conclusions.

One way of showing the credibility of our research has been through documentation of the fieldwork. We have used different methods to document the fieldwork, namely jottings and field notes (Bernard, 2002). Jotting is a method used while in the field and the purpose is to write down the observations as they occur. Field notes are notes which are written every day upon return from the 'field' in order to elaborate on and structure the jottings (Bernard, 2002). We are aware that both jottings and field notes are based on our interpretations of the field. The jottings are interpreted as we observe and talk with informants and more interpretations are added when field notes are written upon return from the field. As interpretivists, our research is based in the interaction and interpretation between us and the field.

An important element for enhancing the dependability of the research is having a research plan before initiating the process. We have worked with this criteria by creating a plan for the fieldwork before starting it and used it as a rough guideline during the fieldwork process (Appendix 1). The plan included objectives for the fieldwork, types of informants to be targeted, previously made arrangements with key informants, an overview of the information we were interested in obtaining, and an overview of the various types of data to be obtained. The plan was created as a general guiding tool in order to have room to pursue new opportunities and information which presented itself during the fieldwork. For instance, we were able to spend much more time with a key informant than anticipated and we were also able to visit various coffee attractions, e.g. a touristic coffee farm on the outskirts of Salento. Another feature enhancing dependability is the use of an 'auditor' or second opinion in the analysis and interpretation of data. The circumstances around our fieldwork enable us to work with two different perspectives on the data because only one of us (Theresa) was able to carry out the fieldwork along with a fellow student researcher also researching coffee tourism (*Further elaborated in paragraph 2.2.2*). Having two different perspectives on the fieldwork and collected data has led to a more critical approach because the researcher who



could not take part in the on-site fieldwork (Frederikke) has asked questions with a different preconception and has come up with other ideas due to not being biased by the lived experience during the fieldwork. During the fieldwork, Theresa uploaded field notes as they were produced in order for Frederikke to follow along in Denmark. Frederikke made comments along the way and posed questions concerning the data. An example of this exchange regards the field notes concerning the Coffee Park where Frederikke asked if Colombian citizens have always viewed coffee as interesting even before it gained international attention. Theresa had the opportunity to reflect upon these questions and it created new discussions about the data.

### **Triangulation**

Decrop (2004) describes triangulation as the most extensive way of integrating trustworthiness into the design of the research. It entails employing various perspectives to investigate the research problem and it aims to limit methodological, theoretical, and personal biases. This serves to provide a more holistic investigation, thus enhancing the trustworthiness. Denzin (1978, cited in Decrop, 2004) outlined four variations of triangulation, namely data, method, investigator, and theoretical triangulation. Further, Decrop (2004) describes a number of other forms of triangulation which are relevant to this project, including informant triangulation and interdisciplinary triangulation.

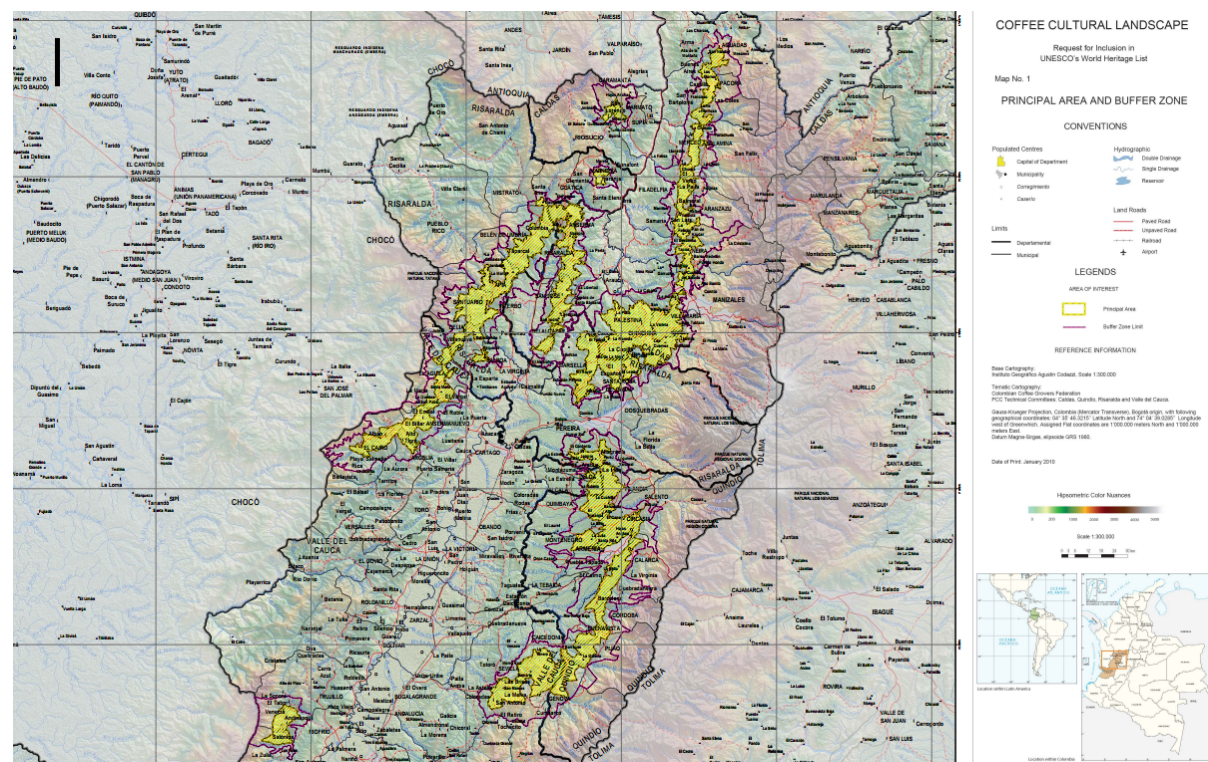
- Data triangulation refers to the use of multiple types of data. The data can be either primary or secondary, written or audiovisual. The data utilised in this research comprises field notes including interviews and observations, textual material from online resources, and a recorded and transcribed interview.
- Method triangulation entails utilising a combination of methods to investigate an issue, potentially a mix of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Applying more than one method limits the risk of selective perception and increases credibility and dependability. The present research utilises a combination of participant observation, various forms of interviews, and document analysis to provide a holistic foundation for interpretation.
- Investigator triangulation entails several researchers examining the same data set with the purpose of limiting biases and enhancing the dependability of the analytical findings. We have worked with investigator triangulation by being a team of two researchers collaborating on the project and discussing the interpretations throughout the process. However, the strength of the investigator triangulation is limited by the fact the two researchers are very similar in terms of gender, race, age, social class, and culture which could entail that we share some of the same biases.

- Theoretical triangulation means employing several theoretical perspectives to help illuminate the data from various angles and letting several potential hypotheses emerge informed by these different theoretical perspectives. The present research utilises a relatively large number of theories to help inform the analysis, comprising theories concerning heritage tourism, imaginaries, postmodernity, authenticity, place/space, mobilities, capitals, and power. These theories illuminate different aspects of the data and allow for a more holistic interpretation of the case study.
- Informant triangulation entails utilising data and information stemming from various informants, preferably different types of informants. This serves to increase transferability because the group of informants becomes more varied and thus somewhat more representative, enabling a more holistic interpretation including insights from several points of view. We have obtained data from various types of informants and sources to achieve this, including Western tourists in Colombia, Colombian coffee farmers, a Colombian who runs a coffee business in Copenhagen, Denmark, as well as secondary data in the form of documents regarding organisational actors.
- Interdisciplinary triangulation is related to the combination of methods, theories, and investigators from various disciplines. This is especially relevant to tourism because it is a multidisciplinary field and investigating a tourism issue from one discipline only is likely to result in a fragmented analysis. We draw on the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, geography, and tourism, which is a field and not a discipline of its own, to create a holistic and nuanced analysis.

### 2.2.2 Field description

The fieldwork took place in Colombia from 6-28 January 2018. The itinerary covered Bogotá, various locations in the Coffee Region (Marsella, Armenia, Buena Vista, Filandia, and Salento) in the central Andean mountain range, and Medellín. One of the researchers (Theresa) carried out the fieldwork along with a fellow student researcher from the same Master's programme who is also investigating Colombian coffee tourism. We were therefore able to conduct our fieldwork together and share some of our field notes. The other researcher (Frederikke) was involved in the process during the fieldwork through online communication and sharing of field notes, interviews, and adjustments to the fieldwork plan in real time. This meant that she could provide feedback and suggestions as we progressed.

Colombia was chosen as the topic for our thesis and location for our fieldwork due to a coffee tourism project which we are developing in collaboration with the other researcher participating in the fieldwork, our university supervisor, a Danish coffee company, and a Colombian coffee farm. The consultancy project presented an excellent opportunity to also provide the setting for an academic investigation into coffee tourism, albeit with a much different angle and objective than the consultancy project. Our collaborators in the project enabled us to schedule various days with key informants in the Coffee Region which gave us valuable and rich data. We planned the fieldwork itinerary including both previously made arrangements with key informants and other research activities unrelated to the consultancy project. We conducted ethnographic fieldwork as we immersed ourselves in the field and performed participant observation, interviews, and observations. Much of our data came from investigations of coffee tourism offers in Bogotá and Medellín, interviews and field notes/observations with key informants in Marsella and Buena Vista, and participant observation at coffee attractions in the cities of Salento, Filandia, and Armenia. All of the latter sites are located in the most famous coffee region in Colombia, comprising the regions of Quindío, Risaralda, Valle de Cauca, and Caldas.



*Fig. 2 Map of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia. From the upper left corner and clockwise, the included departments are Risaralda, Caldas, Quindío, and Valle de Cauca. The yellow areas are the principal areas and the purple markings delineate the buffer zones for the World Heritage Site (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-b).*

During the fieldwork, we also encountered a number of challenges. We are situated in a Western context which differs from the context of our Colombian informants and it is necessary to be sensitive towards this during interviews and when creating fieldnotes and other interpretations.

In interviews with tourists, we focused on North American and European informants. This is because we are interested in how Colombian coffee is presented to this group because the group is the main target segment for the Colombian Coffee Growers Federation (FNC) in relation to coffee tourism (FNC, 2016). Interviews with Colombian informants included coffee tourism workers and coffee farmers as they are the ones living in the area influenced by the way the Coffee Region is framed and promoted. However, it was a challenge to achieve variety in the type of informants approached in the Coffee Region, for instance with tourists, because the vast majority was young backpackers. We attempted to ameliorate this as much as possible but acknowledge that the overall tourist informant group is dominated by young European backpackers. One reason for this composition of the tourist segment could be the negative reputation which Colombia has suffered for several years due to issues with paramilitary groups and drug production and trafficking. The perceived lack of safety in some parts of the country has held back tourism development, especially for older segments, while the backpacker segment often leads the way in emerging destinations (Brenner & Fricke, 2007; Chan, 2015).

Another challenge of the fieldwork was our situatedness as researchers. One researcher (Theresa) being a Spanish-speaking woman and our colleague (a man) speaking only very little Spanish in a male-dominated, almost exclusively Spanish-speaking country has influenced our data collection, especially the data involving Colombian informants. We attempted to overcome this obstacle by both being present and balancing one another during interviews and observations.

Lastly, we have put much effort into overcoming the challenge of how to best share the fieldwork insights with Frederikke upon return from Colombia. We overcame this potential obstacle by creating the fieldwork plan collaboratively and carrying out all of the initial secondary data research together. We also shared field notes in real time which we consider an advantage because it meant having a pair of critical eyes to point out lack of information, express wonder about certain situations or ask additional questions. Lastly, we spent a full day upon return to discuss and reflect upon the experience.



### 2.2.3 Situating the methodology

The methodology chosen for the data collection and analysis reflects our philosophical stance based in social constructivism and the ontological and epistemological viewpoints that follow. The methods utilised are therefore qualitative rather than quantitative, emphasising the nature of the empirical material rather than its ability to be quantified. This coheres well with interpretivism because qualitative methods aim to understand the research object through interpretation and acknowledge the dynamic relation between the researcher and the researched. Thus, this relation cannot be ignored and, unlike in the positivist paradigm, it influences the epistemological process, i.e. the creation of knowledge because the findings are based in interpretation. This is also one of the main criticisms of qualitative methods and critics posit that findings produced this way are non-objective ([Decrop, 2004](#)). Proponents of qualitative methods can, of course, agree with this and posit that findings can never be objective because the social world is a construct consisting of many realities. It thus comes down to different ontological points of view.

The three central methods within the qualitative approach are in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. These methods and our use of them are outlined throughout the rest of this section. We adapted our use of the methods to the specific fieldwork context, taking into account social and cultural features influencing how to best obtain the desired data. For instance, we adapted the interview to an informal format to suit both Colombian informants and informants on vacation.

The time span available for the fieldwork was relatively limited, comprising 22 days. This could be an obstacle to obtaining sufficient data and immersing ourselves in the field for long enough to gain a nuanced understanding of it ([Pink & Morgan, 2013](#)). We have attempted to minimise this obstacle by engaging with the field before departure through online desk research and by preparing a fieldwork itinerary covering many different types of locations and informants as well as conducting in-depth interviews with select key informants.

### 2.2.4 Utilised methods

#### **Participant observation**

In participant observation, the researcher takes part in activities along with the people who are the subjects of the research while making observations. It provides the opportunity to observe activities in their usual setting and social context and thus gain a deeper understanding of them. It can allow the researcher to gain an insider's view of the context and it has been highlighted as a beneficial method for researching e.g. marginalised

populations or, for female researchers, to research other women who may be uncomfortable talking to male researchers. Participant observation can thus be a method for researching populations uncomfortable with interacting with researchers coming from a significantly different cultural, social, and economic background ([Belsky, 2004](#)).

Participant observation acknowledges the relationship between the researcher and the research subjects, rejecting the idea of the objective researcher seeking an objective truth. Therefore, the researcher's bias and situatedness are important and influence the research. An example of this is the importance of the researcher's gender, as mentioned previously. If the research subject is e.g. a marginalised woman, a female researcher may be able to establish more trust with her and thus gain access to different information than a male researcher.

In the present project, participant observation has been very important to the data collection. We immersed ourselves in the context and participated in both touristic activities as well as traditional everyday activities conducted by key informants. To gain access to and knowledge about tourists interested in touristic coffee activities, we participated in coffee-related activities such as a tour on a coffee farm, a visit to a coffee theme park, and a tour at an high-end coffee plantation ([Appendix 3](#); [Appendix 4](#)). However, in order to widen the segment of potential informants and observations, we also participated in non coffee-related activities. This included, for instance, going on a guided walking tour in Bogotá and a guided tour of a neighbourhood in Medellín as well as using types of accommodation and transportation common for tourists ([Appendix 2](#); [Appendix 4](#)). This approach allowed us to observe tourist behaviour and also gain an insider's view to the tourist experience. It also enabled us to observe how Colombian tourism actors described and positioned coffee for different segments of tourists, revealing their own understanding of coffee, its potential as a tourism commodity, and their perception of tourists' imaginaries about coffee.

To obtain data concerning Colombian coffee farmers and the coffee industry, we spent five days with key informants. Our activities included taking part in and observing everyday activities such as weighing and processing the daily coffee harvest, having lunch and dinner with the informant's family and friends/business associates, and participating in the traditional Sunday family retreat to one of the farms owned by the informant's family. Apart from the everyday activities, the informant also organised activities for us as her visitors, e.g. tours of a number of farms and a musical performance ([Appendix 3](#)). The time spent with the Colombian key informants allowed us to observe everyday activities as they unfolded, the networks and power relations which the informant's family is part of, and their positioning within the wider Colombian coffee industry. This provided valuable data and demonstrated a number of contrasts with other framings and presentations of coffee by other actors. Of

course, due to our shared consultancy project with our informant, introduced in the previous field description, she also had a motivation to frame the information she gave us in light of the commercial project. The informant showed us a wide range of elements pertaining to the culture of the Coffee Region which she probably would not have shown us, had we been tourists, because she was very unsure of their touristic value ([Appendix 3](#)). This allowed us to observe what she, as a Colombian, perceives as important to the culture of the Coffee Region.

## **Interviews**

The varied nature of the fieldwork and data collection entails that we have performed various types of interviews. Qualitative research is very context sensitive and it is necessary to adapt methods to the specific situations in which they are applied in order to use them optimally. That means, for instance, adjusting the format, tone, time, and place of the interview to the informant. As examples of this, we have performed interviews during guided tours, over dinner, and some lasting several days with a few questions asked each day. The following paragraphs outline the different types of interviews conducted during the data collection.

### Semi-structured interview

According to Kvale ([1997](#)), the semi-structured interview investigates a previously given topic but includes the flexibility to pursue new related concepts or ideas which are brought up by the informant during the interview. The interview is therefore structured around an interview guide containing various types of questions but can also explore concepts outside of the interview guide. The interviews were comprised of introductory questions, exploration questions, follow-up questions, and indirect questions ([Appendix 1](#); [Appendix 6](#)).

We have conducted semi-structured interviews with a Colombian residing in Denmark and running a coffee company and the visitor manager of a high-end coffee plantation called San Alberto. We chose semi-structured interviews for these informants because it was possible to arrange a specific time and place for the interview beforehand which thus enabled us to create interview guides. The informants were also made aware of our research purposes and interests which may have guided their answer. In other words, informants may have adjusted their answers based on what they perceived to be relevant to us or how they wished to be perceived by us as foreign researchers.

An example of a semi-structured interview which we conducted was with Alejandro, the visitor manager of the San Alberto coffee farm ([Appendix 4](#)). Through a Danish contact from our consultancy project, we had made previous arrangements to visit the farm. Because of the importance of our Danish contact to the coffee farm, we were given an exclusive tour of

the farm by Alejandro, who is in charge of the tourism programme, free of charge. Further, because of the referral, Alejandro had an interest in presenting San Alberto as a very professional, modern, and well-run organisation. He focused very much on the quantitative and scientific aspects of coffee production and our positioning may have influenced how he chose to frame San Alberto and the Colombian coffee industry towards us as foreign visitors with ties to an important importer for San Alberto.

### Unstructured interview

Whereas semi-structured interviews happen within an agreed setting and follow an interview guide, unstructured interviews can be used to establish initial contact with an informant and can later on lead to more formal, semi-structured or structured interviews. They can also reveal potential topics relevant for future interviews and how to best conduct interviews in the given locality ([Bernard, 2002](#)). Adapting the interview format to the context is important and formal semi-structured interviews may not always be the best option. In these cases, unstructured interviews can be suitable for informants who are more comfortable speaking in a less formal setting.

In the present project, unstructured interviews are defined as interviews occurring within an agreed setting but without the use of an interview guide. They were conducted during the fieldwork to access informants with whom a formalised, semi-structured interview was not optimal and where a more casual setting was deemed necessary. Unstructured interviews were conducted with key informants on a coffee farm (Café Horizontes), North American and European tourists, and tour guides who we were not able to schedule formal interviews with but whom we could interview during guided tours, i.e. within an agreed setting and time, lasting e.g. two hours. These informants were made aware of our position as researchers but we simultaneously acted as fellow tourists in the setting of the guided tours.

An example of an unstructured interview which we performed was with two tour guides in Bogotá ([Appendix 5, interview 6](#)). We were interested in hearing their framing of Colombia and Colombian coffee towards tourists and therefore joined a walking tour. After the tour, we performed an unstructured interview with them over a cup of coffee and walked with them back towards their office. We would probably not have been able to access this type of informant through a formal interview setup and therefore created an informal walk-and-talk where we could explore aspects related to Colombian coffee, e.g. the increased interest from tourists and the role which coffee has traditionally played in Colombia.



### Conversation

Qualitative interviews aim at accessing information about a specific topic with the objective of identifying themes or patterns across a number of informants. In the present research, we were interested in learning about Western tourists' imaginaries and perceptions related to Colombia and thus attempted to gain access to as many informants as possible to collect a wide sample. We did this throughout the fieldwork which means that we spoke to informants in Bogotá, the Coffee Region, and Medellín. Apart from the tourists who we met on tours, we also approached potential informants in hostels and shared transportation. We were not able to schedule these encounters in advance and they always had an informal character, including smalltalk and discussions of topics unrelated to our research. We therefore categorise them as conversations rather than semi-structured or unstructured interviews. We define conversations as exchanges of information taking place without previous agreement, not being led by an interview guide, and happening in an informal setting.

An example of a conversation which we carried out with informants is an informal conversation which took place over the course of a few days with two German travelers staying at the same accommodation as us in Salento ([Appendix 5, conversation 9](#)). We stroke up conversation with them at the residence and shared several meals with them during the next days and participated in the same tour at a coffee farm. Our extended time with them allowed us to learn more about their motivations for travelling and which resources they utilised in the selection of activities and places, for instance. Due to the nature of conversations, our encounter also included other topics and smalltalk as we did not want to overwhelm them with research-related questions.

### **Document analysis**

As another method, we have used secondary data to conduct document analysis. Document analysis is used to analyse and interpret documents, e.g. news articles, government documents, tourism strategies etc. ([Scott & Fulcher, 2003](#)). Contrary to the other methods we have used for this thesis, there is no option for dialogue between us and the researched. However, there are still important questions to ask, e.g. who is the author of the document? Which agenda do they have? What are their values and beliefs? Is it based on an individual's idea of truth or does it represent an entire organisation? What is the genre? What is the story being told and what is not being told? Who is the target group? ([Dahler-Larsen, 2005](#)). We aim to answer these questions by analysing the documents and using the theoretical framework and insights from our primary data. As social constructivists, a document can never be read as a correct reproduction of truth but rather it is based on interpretations by us, by the author, and by others who examine it ([Dahler-Larsen, 2005](#)).

In this project, document analysis has played an important role both before and after the fieldwork was conducted. Before creating the fieldwork plan, we investigated tourism offers in the Coffee Region to become familiar with the field and to help guide the fieldwork plan. For instance, we investigated group tours to Colombia offered by Danish travel agencies to gain an introductory understanding of the imaginaries at play. We also investigated the website of the Colombian Tourism Ministry to gauge how coffee tourism is prioritised and whether it forms part of the official tourism strategies of Colombia. These investigations helped us create our interview guides, as well.

Upon return from the fieldwork, document analysis has been utilised as a way of further investigating topics of interest which came to our attention during the fieldwork, for instance the importance of the Colombian Coffee Growers Federation and the UNESCO World Heritage Site listing. We have been able to focus the desktop research conducted after the fieldwork more whereas the pre-fieldwork research was a wide, general investigation into the field. This way, the method has been very useful throughout the elaboration of the project.

## 2.3 Sampling and coding

### 2.3.1 Sampling

#### **Sampling of primary data**

When collecting data, it is important to determine which methods to use and to consider which informants are needed for the research. Further, it is also important to consider how informants are chosen ([Scott & Fulcher, 2003](#)). Our sampling method is based on two elements. First, our sampling of informants was based on the time frame of our fieldwork, namely that it was a short-term fieldwork and purposive sampling was therefore useful.

Purposive sampling means that we have pursued people who met the criteria of our fieldwork based on categories we found relevant ([Bernard, 2002](#)). These categories included tourists in Colombia, tourism workers, coffee farm owners, and a Colombian coffee business owner in Denmark. Secondly, our sampling has been based on the socio-cultural context being informal. We have therefore, to a lesser degree, used snowball sampling which means that we used our existing contacts to get new informants. This led us to informants who we otherwise would not have spoken to ([Bernard, 2002](#)).

### **Sampling of secondary data**

Another part of our data collection is the collection of secondary data. Using secondary data is necessary for this research as we gain information that we could otherwise not get. Due to the scope of our research being short-term, we did not have the possibility to create relationships with various organisations, in this case UNESCO, the FNC, the Colombian Tourism Ministry, and Lonely Planet. However, through secondary data we have been able to obtain information about the different organisations and use the perspective they present in our analysis ([Appendix 8, sampling 1, 2, 3, 4, 5](#)). Secondary data about UNESCO, the FNC, the Tourism Ministry and Infomedia articles has been collected online and data about Lonely Planet has been obtained from two Lonely Planet guide books about Colombia. On the webpages of UNESCO, the FNC, Infomedia and the Tourism Ministry, we have narrowed our search through predefined categories, such as the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC), tourism in the Colombian Coffee Region, World Heritage Site, Colombian coffee branding etc. ([Appendix 8](#)). We applied snowball sampling on each of the websites, i.e. we followed other links which appeared during our research ([Bernard, 2002](#)). The two Lonely Planet guide books utilised were from before and after 2011 (from 2009 and 2015, respectively) when the Coffee Region became a World Heritage Site. Both books are e-books and this enabled us to search for terms such as 'coffee' and '*Zona Cafetera*'. We investigated all the hits and selected sections based on different categories such as those mentioned above ([Appendix 8, sampling 4 & 5](#)).

### **2.3.2 Coding**

Prior to creating our analysis, we have coded the data. The coding provides an overview of the data and we use it to investigate potentially new information which we previously may have overlooked. The data which has been coded is our interviews, field notes, and online secondary data. To code the data, we utilised descriptive coding to define a number of preset categories based on our research question and thereby our theoretical considerations. Descriptive coding refers to defining categories which align with the topic without being a summary of the content. It is important that the categories are not too concrete, limiting us to noticing only parts of our data, nor too abstract, containing information which goes in too many directions ([Saldaña, 2009](#)).

We defined ten categories, all inspired by our theoretical considerations. The categories are: Travel motivations and identity, flows, authenticity and authentication, resistance, capitals and networks, construction of place, commodification of heritage, and imaginaries. Some of the data overlaps into several of the categories and in these cases we have allocated the

same data to various categories. We are aware that by creating preset categories, we affect the outcome of the coding and limit ourselves to these categories. However, we attempted to overcome this by continuously looking for new categories during the coding which led us to three additional categories, namely power, history of tourism development, and front stage and back stage. Data from all categories has informed the analysis.

## 2.4 Ethical Considerations and limitations

### 2.4.1 Ethical considerations

As part of conducting fieldwork and collecting data, it is important to consider the ethical implications which have emerged during the research process. We are aware that our position as researchers comes with responsibility and that our position has implications. One aspect which is important to consider during data collection, and which could have ethical implications, is the sensitivity of the information given by the informants. An example of this was during the fieldwork where we stayed at a coffee farm for a few days. One of our informants there told us that the farm previously had various types of sustainability certifications but now only has one because they were too expensive and because people in the area 'cheat' and borrow stamps from each other so that they did not have to pay for the certification themselves ([Appendix 3](#)). This information is sensitive because our informant explained that someone she knows has done something illegal. However, the people who our informant talked about are not mentioned by name, where they live, or anything else which could be used to identify them and thereby be harmful to them. As such, the sensitive information has been protected.

Prior to conducting our fieldwork, we already had access to some informants due to an existing relationship with a gatekeeper in Denmark. This was a great help in order to gain access to our field but it also comes with a certain degree of responsibility. Not only towards our informants in the field but also towards the gatekeeper in Denmark. By giving us access to his network, he trusts us to behave appropriately and keep a good relationship with the informants to ensure his continued relationship with them.

Based on our Danish contact, we established contact with a coffee farm owner who invited us to visit his farm, Café San Alberto. Here, we were given a free tour around the farm which is something tourists normally pay for. The only reason we were given this free tour was because of our shared contact in Denmark. Café San Alberto is dependent on people such as our gatekeeper, a coffee company owner in Denmark, because he buys large amounts of



coffee from the farm. We only received a free tour because of the preexisting power relation between our gatekeeper and the farm which put us in a position where we used their relationship for our research.

A last ethical concern which occurred during the fieldwork relates to disclosing our role as researchers. Informants who we have gained access to through our gatekeeper in Denmark are all aware of our role as researchers and of the purpose of our research. However, not all other informants have this knowledge and some considered us to 'just' be tourists during conversations with them. This is an ethical concern because people have given us information thinking we were tourists and not researchers using the information for research purposes. Due to the setting of the fieldwork, we often talked to tourism actors while they were working or to tourists while they were sightseeing and having a more formal interview setting was not possible and it seemed more natural to walk along asking questions like any other tourist. However, we did not hide that we were researchers and if it came up in a conversation, we did not hesitate to tell people.

## 2.4.2 Limitations

In this section, we outline the limitations which have affected the research. Reflecting on our process is important for understanding which limitations exist with the chosen methods, theoretical approaches, and limitations of the field. It is important to acknowledge that we would have obtained a different outcome had we chosen different methods or did not have the limitations in the field which we did. The methods were chosen because they provide different perspectives on the topic and because they were the most appropriate for our fieldwork. Further, we believe they have helped us gain relevant data necessary to answer our research question.

As mentioned, our approach to the research is inductive and the theory has been chosen based on the data we have collected and the initial insights we were able to draw from it. Additionally, even though our theory is chosen based on the data, we are aware that the selected theory has an effect on how we interpret the data in our analysis. That said, based on the findings of our fieldwork, we are confident that we have chosen the theories that will give us the best understanding and answer to our research question.

### **Methodological limitations**

There are various types of limitations to the different methods chosen. One of the limitations of participant observation is that it is very situation-specific and it is difficult to generalise beyond what is being observed. Another limitation is that we as researchers do not have

control over the process but have to go along with what happens. As researchers, we also have to consider and acknowledge our own bias when performing participant observation. Lastly, time is often a limitation in participant observation which is usually based on long-term fieldwork where the researcher spends time immersing themselves in the field. This takes time because they need to build trust, relationships, and become as natural a part of the field as possible (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). However, in our case we did not do participant observation in the classic sense because of our fieldwork being short-term. This is a limitation which we overcame through the choice of group with which we participated and observed, namely tourists. Tourists as a group in a specific field are strangers to each other and their stay in a field is usually short-term. This means that it is difficult to spend a long time immersing oneself in a group and creating trust. However, by being tourists, we as researchers are already a part of the group, thereby overcoming the limitation.

In semi-structured interviews, there is a pre-made interview guide to follow. This method has the advantage of guiding the researcher to talk about all the topics they are interested in while still giving the informant the opportunity to elaborate on topics. There are also limitations to this type of interview. An interview guide is created based on the researcher's pre-notions of a subject and therefore risks limiting the interview to a certain direction. This leads to the next limitation, namely that by creating specific questions there are also questions being left out. By asking different questions, the researcher would have gotten different insights. We attempted to overcome this by allowing for a loosely structured interview with room for new inputs and for pursuing other topics brought up than those included in the interview guide.

As part of the research, we also chose to conduct conversations and unstructured interviews. This was done both because of the convenience of informal conversation while doing participant observation and because we found it useful to have a more casual conversation in order to gain knowledge about topics which we otherwise would not have known to ask about, e.g. the different perceptions of coffee tourism were brought to our attention by an informant who spoke negatively about folkloristic coffee attractions (Appendix 4). However, there are also some limitations to doing these more informal types of interviews. By not having a structured interview guide, the conversation is easily led away from the topic and without structured questions it can be difficult to return back to the topic of interest, either because it is easier to forget or because it would seem like an unnatural and forced way of having a conversation. Another limitation is that when interviewing an informant, there is a risk that the informant gives us the information they think we (as tourists or researchers) want instead of their actual opinion.

Lastly, the context of the field work did not allow us to record and transcribe the interviews word by word as is often possible in formal, more structured interview. This is due to the fact that informants were often working, on tours, or otherwise moving and engaged during the interviews. This also means that the analysis includes few direct quotes from informants. We have attempted to overcome this limitation by taking careful notes during the conversations and interviews.

For the analysis, we also collected secondary data. Using secondary data for document analysis has its advantages in the sense that as a method it is not as time consuming as e.g. physically entering a field and doing participant observation to collect primary data. It is also possible to gain information without first having to get permission to access it since the documents are publicly available. Even so, there are some limitations to this type of method. First, the documents we analyse are produced for certain purposes and audiences and are not intended for research ([Bowen, 2009](#)). Second, the document we access may not be detailed enough to help us answer our research question and it is not possible to gather additional information from the document. This is why it is important to consider as many documents as possible during the sampling process ([Bowen, 2009](#)). However, this leads to the next limitation which is that the selection of documents may not be complete and something will be overlooked. This could be because of our own biased selectivity. We search for documents with specific topics in mind and this might mean that we overlook other important topics which are not noticed in the selection process ([Bowen, 2009](#)). We try to overcome this by considering these limitations when selecting a sampling method but we are aware that we will not be able to find all documents of relevance to our research.

### **Research design limitations**

The research is based solely on qualitative methods as stated in the previous section. We have chosen to work with qualitative methods because, as social constructivists, we believe that knowledge is best produced through relationships and interaction with others. Doing participant observation and interviews gives us this possibility. Alternatively, we could have chosen to include quantitative data in our research, providing us with a different methodological approach and thus different types of data. For example, we could have included a survey during the fieldwork, thus having the possibility to reach more informants and different types, e.g. more and various types of tourists. This would not give us a deep understanding of the individual respondent but could have provided us with an overall picture of e.g. tourists' experiences at coffee farms in Colombia. However, we decided not to include any quantitative methods because we believe that through the in-depth interviews

we collected with various actors and because of our own participant observation we gained the insight needed.

The foundation of the research is based on short-term ethnography and there are some limitations with only being in the field for a short time. First of all, staying in a place for a longer period of time will give more insights than staying short term. Another limitation is the ability to obtain trust and create relationships with informants which is important for generating knowledge. It is difficult to gain trust and form relationships in only a short amount of time, also because of our different cultural background and coming from entirely different parts of the world. One way to overcome this limitation is through pre-existing relationships, namely having gatekeepers. Our gatekeeper at a Danish coffee company already had trusting relationships with several actors in our field and because he facilitated the contact between us and them, the process of forming a relationship was faster. They trusted us because they trust him. Lastly, our bias and pre-understanding as Danish university students is also a limitation. Our point of view in Colombia is etic which means that we observe the culture from the outside in and only by immersing ourselves in the specific cultural context can we try to get a more emic understanding. Doing this in such a short period of time is very difficult and therefore we have tried to overcome this by being as reflexive as possible of our own role as outsiders ([Askehave et al., 2006](#)).

The collected data is also part of a consultancy project which lies beyond the scope of this thesis (See paragraph 2.2.2). This means that the data has been influenced by the information needed for the tourism development project. This can be seen as a limitation due to the fact that we had a specific purpose with our fieldwork, leading us to certain topics which may have closed us off to other potential angles which we could have pursued.

As stated in Section 2.2, we are two researchers but only one of us was present in the field while the other one was in Denmark. This has also created some limitations for the research. Frederikke, who was not present in the field, has access to all of the collected data but there is a lack of context due to her not having been present in the field. This was somewhat overcome by discussions about the data where Theresa (who was in Colombia) has interpreted the data for Frederikke (context, observations, field notes, interviews) with the purpose of providing an understanding of the specific field and Frederikke asked clarifying questions. Our discussions of the data also create new forms of interpretation because of Theresa's reproduction of her experiences. Through these discussions, we also formulated more detailed descriptions of the field so Frederikke could understand the context. This may not have been as detailed had we both been in the field and therefore taken some of the

details for granted. For the researcher in the field, there are also limitations. By not having a second set of eyes and someone to discuss with along the way, some elements can be overlooked and the interpretation is only based on how that one researcher sees it. However, we also tried to overcome this limitation by having a second researcher present at the field, for instance. He is not a part of the present thesis but still collected data together with Theresa and thereby acted as a second set of eyes.

The last limitation we have come across during this research is that we are not able to return to the field. This is due to the limited time of our research. Going back to the field after having gone through the findings can be an advantage because it makes it possible to pursue new topics which have emerged or elaborate on topics already covered. We do, however, still have contact with some key informants via e-mail but this has mainly been a help in connection to our consultancy project.



### 3 Theoretical section

This chapter of the thesis is an overview of our theoretical considerations. First, we introduce heritage tourism, presenting the concept of heritage and the influence UNESCO has on heritage tourism. Furthermore, we define heritage tourism to understand how cultural elements in a destination are commodified. Secondly, we introduce the concept of imaginaries and use Salazar's (2011; 2013) definition to understand the concept and include his perception of postcolonialism and its influence on identity construction. We also include Gravari-Barbas and Graburn (2012) and their definitions of imaginaries of place, practice, and participants. The third theory is postmodernity where we introduce the concept by using Bauman's (1991; 2004) definition. Postmodernity is employed to obtain an understanding of identity creation and consumption within the postmodern era which leads us to a paragraph dedicated to the postmodern tourist.

In continuation, we define the concept of authenticity and utilise Goffmann's and MacCannell's (1973; 1999) definitions of stages to do so. This is followed by a paragraph dedicated to understanding the importance of authentication in a postmodern society. Next, we introduce the concepts of space and place by first giving a brief overview of the development of the concepts and then introducing Maureen Massey's (1991; 1994; 2004; 2013) definition of space and place. The concepts of space and place are closely linked to that of mobility which is the next theory presented in this chapter. Here, we start by defining Appadurai's (2000) five scapes with a special focus on ethnoscape and mediascape as they play a role in our analysis. We move on to introducing the new mobilities paradigm and, finally, we present some issues and critical perspectives on the concept of mobility. We then introduce the concept of capitals, utilising Bourdieu's (1986; 1989) definition of cultural, economic, social, and symbolic capital. The definition of social capital also includes Moscardo's (2014) notion of bridging and bonding social capital. The last theoretical section is dedicated to power, introducing Bourdieu's (1989) concept of symbolic power and a critique of Bourdieu's structure/agency duality. This is followed by de Certeau's (1984) concept of resistance to power and, finally, a discussion of how power is included in the concept of mobility.

## 3.1 Heritage tourism

### 3.1.1 The concept of heritage

The concept of cultural heritage as we know it today came about during the 19th century and grew to a global scale during the 20th century. It covers both cultural phenomena, e.g. memories, events and experiences, and material structures, e.g. buildings, sites, or artefacts. A central landmark in the process of constructing the concept of heritage was the establishment of the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 which certified tangible sites, buildings, artefacts, and monuments as elements of importance to world heritage. In 2003, the convention was amended to also include intangible elements such as knowledge, performing arts, or oral traditions. Globally, UNESCO is a principal organisation within the process of cool authentication and functions as an institutional gatekeeper of what is considered heritage (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013).

Heritage can serve various purposes, e.g. underpinning ideology, creating certain national self-perceptions, or boosting tourism development in an area. Regardless of its nature and purpose, a shared and defining trait of heritage is its authenticity or lack thereof. In order for it to be considered true heritage, the question of authenticity is central. Many sites seek official authentication through certification. The most prominent is the UNESCO certification and the number of World Heritage Sites increases each year (Prideaux, 2003).

### 3.1.2 The allure of heritage tourism

The quest for authenticity is an important feature of heritage tourism and a central motivation for visitors to heritage sites or events. Prideaux ascribes urban tourists' search for rural roots to postmodernism and speaks of a "*nostalgia industry*" (2003, p. 5). As such, heritage is often about interpretations and ideas of the past projected onto the present and interpreted through the contemporary mindset. The past is sought due to its perceived stability in a postmodern world defined by instability and the contemporary interpretation of past events can lead to the curious situation where "*the filter of contemporary culture stimulates greater interest in the site than a more conservative, though historically correct, account would generate*" (Prideaux, 2003, p. 7).

Franklin (2003, cited in Salazar, 2013) connects heritage tourism with what he calls popular anthropology. He states that tourists, like anthropologists, are interested in collecting and displaying artefacts from around the world and that, towards the end of the 20th century, that became possible - a form of popular anthropology. According to Salazar, tourists are not the

only group mimicking anthropologists and research from Tanzania and Indonesia shows that long-discarded anthropological models and viewpoints perceiving cultures as homogenous and static are still being employed by tourism providers. These archaic models serve the purpose of simplification and commodification, providing “*historically fixed versions of local natural and cultural heritage*” (2013, p. 673). The outdated anthropological models are most frequently based in a colonial mindset, highlighting difference and othering the local population. Daugstad and Kirchengast support this by stating that “*heritage constitutes an attempt to freeze specific constellations of space and time*” (2013, p. 174) and terms this process heritagisation or heritagification.

### 3.1.3 Commodification of heritage

Heritage, both material and cultural, goes through a process of commodification and staging before being offered for touristic consumption. In this process, it is modified to enhance its attractiveness to visitors and to become marketable as a response to an increase in demand by tourists, or an increase in demand as perceived by government or the tourism industry. The commodification can consist both in modifications to the physical appearance of the site as well as to its use (Prideaux, 2003).

Some scholars and stakeholders lament the commodification of built or cultural heritage because they find that it modifies it too heavily or diminishes its authenticity. The danger of commodifying culture *can* be that it becomes trivialised and reduced to commercial products, losing its cultural meaning to local residents. The opposing view, however, is that without the commodification, the heritage elements may be lost to degradation or redevelopment and, as such, the commodification of heritage is an important part of maintaining it. To underscore this point and outline the very nature of heritage, Prideaux cites Trotter in stating that, “*heritage has no existence until it is produced or manufactured out of contemporary concerns, interests and practices that draw on the fragmentary remnants of the past that remain in existence in the presence. To lament the commodification of heritage is to ignore and misunderstand the nature of heritage, its production and its valuing*” (2000, p. 156, cited in Prideaux, 2003, p. 4). Bendix (1989) supports this by saying that traditions are always defined in the present. Trotter’s focus on commodification can be criticised due to its market orientation. As such, heritage elements can be defined and understood as heritage without also being commodified and marketed for e.g. tourist consumption. In this sense, it is important to be cognisant of the order of events and investigate whether an element becomes heritage because it has been commodified or whether it becomes commodified

because it is understood as heritage. Heritagisation must not necessarily lead to commodification.

## 3.2 Imaginaries

### 3.2.1 Defining imaginaries

Imaginaries help individuals construct their identity and position in the social world and Salazar defines imaginaries as “*socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people’s personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices. The imaginary is both a function of producing meanings and the product of this function*” (2011, p. 864). Aside from being grounded in power structures, imaginaries are culturally and collectively shaped but are not necessarily explicitly expressed. They assist individuals in interpreting and making sense of the world and performing common practices, e.g. determining appropriate vacation behaviour which is often unspoken, yet agreed upon. Tourism imaginaries specifically concern the part of people’s worldview related to places outside their primary residence where leisure activities can be performed (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012; Salazar, 2011). These imaginaries bridge the transition from the place of residence to the destination, often in terms of binaries such as ‘here and there’, ‘familiar and exotic’, and ‘the known and the unknown’. Imaginaries are thus essential and inform the tourism choices people make and the very motivation to be a tourist. Of course, residents in destination areas also hold imaginaries about the visiting tourists which influence their behaviour towards tourists (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012; Salazar, 2011; Salazar, 2013).

### 3.2.2 Images and representations

Cultures are very complex constructs and therefore need to be simplified in the process of commodification and touristic consumption. The simplification happens, for instance, through the selection of iconic artefacts taken to represent the culture and its members (Salazar, 2013). Tourism imaginaries are conveyed through shared implicit understandings rather than through explicit terms and are often strongly related with images and representations, either tangible (e.g. postcards, guide books, and crafts) or intangible (e.g. legends, anecdotes, and memories). These representations are shared by tourists and sometimes other tourism actors; however, all stakeholders may not attach the same meaning to a given representation. Artefacts and images produced by the host population are particularly telling because the locals attempt to create images representative of their culture but

simultaneously appealing to tourists' imaginaries of them. The continuously evolving nature of imaginaries also entails that there can be a correspondence or a dissonance between the artefacts and what they represent (or what a stakeholder group imagines they represent). This can lead to either confirmed imaginaries or, alternatively, to a rejection of the imaginary or a rejection of the experienced reality as being inauthentic (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012; Salazar, 2011).

### 3.2.3 Types of imaginaries

Echtner and Prasad (2003, cited in Salazar, 2011) highlight three myths which influence tourism imaginaries concerning developing countries, namely the myth of the uncivilised, the myth of the unrestrained, and the myth of the unchanged. Further, the collective tourism imaginaries can be deconstructed in order to analyse their component parts. Gravari-Barbas and Graburn (2012) divide imaginaries into three types, the first one being imaginaries of place. Imaginaries of place are the spatial perceptions concerning the potential of a place to be a tourist destination. These imaginaries add meaning to the place and enable potential visitors to envision it in certain ways and to relate certain characteristics to it. They may comprise positive or negative attributes and thus provide a more concrete perception of the place. In this way, the perceived distance between the place and an individual's place of residence is reduced. The given imaginaries of place influence both the choice or avoidance of a place as a tourism destination but also the individual's behaviour once at the destination, e.g. the avoidance of certain behaviour (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012). The second form of tourism imaginaries are imaginaries of practices. Tourism imaginaries are bound up with ideas of practices related to certain categories of spaces, e.g. skiing or hiking in the mountains. These imaginaries often presume that the same practice takes place in a given type of space all over the world and thus emphasises the similarity of practice rather than the potential discrepancies where a certain type of space is employed differently in different locations. Gravari-Barbas and Graburn note that "*tourist imaginaries thus contribute to the consolidation of kinds of behavior*" (2012, p. 1) and thereby shape both the practices and the place in which they happen by defining which practices are performed in which places. In a global tourism context where many Western tourists travel to non-Western countries, this can lead to the transfer of Western practices in e.g. the mountains to spaces in non-Western countries (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012). The third and last type of tourism imaginaries is that of participants. This covers the imaginaries of the people somehow involved in tourism. This includes both the imaginaries produced by tourists concerning e.g. local inhabitants and the imaginaries *about* tourists,



e.g. how they behave and what their preferences are. The imaginaries about both host and guest categorise and characterise large groups of people and are shaped by tangible and intangible artefacts. The stereotypical characteristics of each group conditions the behaviour and expectations of the individuals forming part of it, thus influencing their expectations for the encounters with the Other (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012).

### 3.2.4 Identity construction and colonial influence

Salazar discusses the image making central to tourism and says that identity construction and reconstruction is especially important to cultural tourism: *"Identities of destinations and their inhabitants are endlessly (re)invented, (re)produced, (re)captured and (re)created in a bid to obtain a piece of the lucrative tourism pie"* (2011, p. 866). Marketers attempt to influence consumers to envision themselves in *"a vanished Eden"* (Salazar, 2011, p. 866) whose natural, cultural, and human features are available for touristic consumption. Colonial anthropological ideas of Otherness function as the inspiration for many imaginaries and see cultures as delimited, homogenous and static, unchanging since colonial times, and drawing on notions of nostalgia. These perceptions are sometimes adopted and perpetuated by the very groups of people who they revolve around, influencing their identity construction and promoting themselves as premodern and static, intentionally 'othering' themselves (Salazar, 2011; Salazar, 2013). In this vein, imaginaries can function as a kind of self-fulfilling prophecies because they convey ideas about how a place is and influence the continuous remaking of place identity. In this process, destination actors might strive to confirm tourist expectations and imaginaries in order to capitalise on the interest (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012).

Concerning tourism imaginaries about the developing world, Salazar (2011) further discusses how these imaginaries often comprise ambiguous nostalgia for the past; people do not truly desire to return to the past, yet are somehow attracted to it. This coheres with Appadurai's (1996) concept of nostalgia without lived experience and Rosaldo's (1993, cited in Salazar, 2011) term 'imperialist nostalgia'. Imperialist nostalgia describes the phenomenon of people ambivalently longing for something which they themselves have played a crucial role in changing.

Tourism intermediaries also play an important role in the creation, remaking, and perpetuation of tourism imaginaries. As the brokers between host and guests, intermediaries such as travel agencies and tour guides can counteract or reinforce existing imaginaries. They can convey imaginaries of e.g. local authenticity based on colonial perceptions, the

pursuit of extraordinary experiences, or of purity and escape (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012). Tourism brokers play a role in forwarding certain images over others but tourism does not exist in a vacuum and is, of course, influenced by its surroundings: “[*The imaginaries*] surpass it and transcend it to characterize and model the spaces to which they refer, the people within them, and the meanings attributed to them” (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012, p. 3). Imaginaries flow and move globally through networks of images often organised through different media outlets. We will further elaborate on the flow of images in section 3.5 where we discuss Appadurai’s (2000) five scapes.

## 3.3 Postmodernity

### 3.3.1 Moving from modernity to postmodernity

Postmodernity followed the modern period which evolved during the 18th and 19th centuries. A central project of modernity was industrialisation and getting people to work in factories, following strict disciplines and schedules and centering their lives around the factory clock and their work tasks. Work also shaped private life and the hierarchies and self-assessment present in work settings were transferred into the private settings. Thus, one’s occupational standing was translated as one’s social status, as well, and defined what one could expect in terms of standard of living and access to social circles (Bauman, 2004).

Postmodernity describes the social formation in Western countries and took its present shape in the second part of the 20th century. Bauman describes postmodernity as “*fully developed modernity*” (1991, p. 33). By this, he explains that postmodernity acknowledges the unintended consequences of modernity and institutionalises the very concepts which modernity attempted to eliminate, namely variety, ambivalence, pluralism, and contingency. Modernity, conversely, attempted to deny and conceal these concepts, striving for universality, monotony, clarity, and homogeneity. This acknowledgement leads Bauman to describe postmodernity as “*modernity emancipated from false consciousness*” (1991, p. 33).

#### **Loss of direction**

An important change from modernity to postmodernity lies in the fact that modernity comprised a number of models which, despite their differences, had one important characteristic in common: They presented a shared vision for modern society as “*a movement with a direction*” (Bauman, 1991, p. 34). Thus, the overriding purpose of the modern project was for society to arrive at a destination. Which destination and the optimal

form of getting there was a matter of ideological debate but the movement towards a defined objective was shared. Bauman also describes this characteristic as a "*metaphor of progress*" (1991, p. 35), of society progressing and moving towards an objective.

Postmodernity, on the other hand, entails continuous change and mobility but with no clear destination or model for development. As such, the linear development central to modernity lost its power in postmodernity (Bauman, 1991).

### **The postmodern national state**

Postmodernity also entails a gradual move away from omnipotent national states to more both transnational and subnational agents taking over the regulation of certain areas. The ambitions of the national state to be the only authority diminish and the responsibility for policy shifts, as well. Responsibility is dissipated rather than passed on to one, new authoritative agent, and an unlimited number of agents take over small parts of it, dividing it into fractions. In modern societies, agents could take up any political protest or grievance with the national state who was responsible for all subject matters. However, in a postmodern world where responsibility has been dissipated and spread out, there may not be one single entity responsible and thus to be confronted. Therefore, "*grievances which in the past would cumulate into a collective political process and address themselves to the state, stay diffuse and translate into self-reflexivity of the agents*" (Bauman, 1991, p. 41).

### **Ethical doubts in the postmodern**

While modern ethics were governed by powerful legislative institutions, the uncertainty characterising postmodernity also characterises ethics in this period. Postmodern ethical issues exist mainly due to two characteristics of the period, namely the pluralism of authority which is also related to the dissipation of responsibility and the importance of the agent's choice in the process of self-constitution. The high degree of autonomy characterising postmodern agents and the lack of a universal model for identity construction also entail a high level of self-monitoring, self-reflection and self-evaluation (Bauman, 1991). On a societal level, the consequence of this is that non-governmental actors have room to exercise power and set out guidelines for consumers who feel individually responsible for societal developments.

### 3.3.2 Identity in the postmodern

The lack of homogeneity and grand societal models or purpose in postmodern societies means that agents operating and existing in these societies have insufficient determination and a sense of rootlessness. The agent's identity is not predetermined and cannot be undeniably confirmed by an authority but must be constructed, though without the use of a predetermined template or prescription since such a concept belongs to the modern period. The agent's identity is therefore constructed through what Bauman calls continuous "*self-constitution*" (1991, p. 38).

#### **Self-constitution through assemblage of symbolic tokens**

Due to the lack of normative markers and benchmarks in the self-constitution process of identity creation, other agents (imagined or real) occupying the same habitat function as orientation points. One can "*declare allegiance*" (Bauman, 1991, p. 39) to another agent and what that agent is perceived to represent by adopting symbolic tokens of belonging (Bauman, 1991). A self-constituting agent can thus choose any token of belonging restricted only by their accessibility. In order to be attractive to self-constituting agents, the symbolic tokens must be able to reassure the agent that they will have the desired effects on the identity. Symbolic tokens can provide reassurance through two forms of authority: Of expertise or of mass following. Thus, if an expert vouches for or a great number of other agents adopts a symbolic token, then it must be relevant and fulfill the intended purpose in the self-constitution.

The variety of symbolic tokens accessible to an agent depends on which resources the agent is in control of. The most strategically important resource is knowledge and the more knowledge an agent has, the wider reigns he/she has in terms of assembling symbolic tokens in the identity construction (Bauman, 1991). According to Bauman, "*freedom to choose sets the stratification ladder of consumer society*" (2004, p. 31) and the more free choice one exercises, the higher social status and self-esteem one gains.

### 3.3.3 The postmodern tourist

The postmodern condition has shaped consumers with infinite choices and no template for their personal self-constitution. The previous orientation posts of modernity were left in the past and postmodern individuals look to each other and to experts for reassurance and approval of the choices they make during their identity construction.

Another characteristic of the ever ambivalent postmodern society is the longing for simpler, more structured times. Appadurai (1996) speaks of 'nostalgia without lived experience' and

tourism research (Everett, 2012; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013) indicates that some consumers seek out old-fashioned, rural, back-to-basics tourism experiences in search of authenticity and a simpler way of living. Everett's research on rural food tourism shows a disillusionment with industrialised and globalised food production and mentions that *"many tourists admitted they consume certain foods as an act of defiance to distance themselves from an industrialized world"* (2012, p. 547). For the tourists in Everett's study, supporting local, artisanal food production is seen as a protest to and momentary liberation from their stressed daily lives. As such, tourism provides consumers with an escape from the continuous decision-making as well as a symbolic token of belonging to be used in their self-constitution. This paves the way for responsible and rural tourism trends.

## 3.4 Authenticity

### 3.4.1 Defining authenticity

Authenticity is a very contested concept and is the subject of much debate in tourism literature. Several definitions of the concept exist and, in this thesis, we offer a definition which perceives authenticity as *"a quest for that unity between the self and societal institutions, which endowed pre-modern existence with 'reality'"* (Berger, 1973, p. 85, cited in Cohen, 1988, p. 374). Cohen (1988) emphasises the negotiated nature of authenticity as socially constructed and relates concepts such as primitivity and lack of contact with modernity with authenticity. The fleeting nature of authenticity entails that the very act of searching for it makes it impossible to encounter according to some tourism scholars (Bendix, 1989; MacCannell, 1999). Despite its fleetingness, authenticity is sought after by postmodern consumers and already in the early 1970s, MacCannell stated that *"the concern of moderns for the shallowness of their lives and inauthenticity of their experiences parallels concerns for the sacred in primitive society"* (1973, p. 589). In other words, the perceived lack of authenticity of postindustrial, Western societies leads consumers to search for authenticity in the past, either as nostalgia for things they never actually experienced (Appadurai, 1996) or ways of life in less industrialised societies (Cole, 2007).



### 3.4.2 Stages of authenticity in tourism

Goffman (1959, cited in MacCannell, 1973) created the famous distinction of front stage and back stage which divided experiences into two areas: A front region staged for tourists and an intimate back region where the staging is prepared and where everything is natural and authentic. This distinction was later elaborated on by MacCannell (1973; 1999) who defined another four stages, working with a continuum of six stages in total. He uses the concept of 'staged authenticity' to describe the various levels of staging and authenticity of tourism experiences. The six stages are: 1) The front region, similar to Goffman's concept, is the setting which tourists try to get behind. 2) A front region which has been decorated with items reminding of a back region. 3) A front region that is organised to appear completely as a back region. 4) Back regions which are open to outsiders. 5) A back region that is somewhat altered because tourists are occasionally allowed a peek and, finally, 6) The setting which Goffman originally called the back region. MacCannell (1973) argues that touristic experiences are, by definition, always inauthentic because they are always staged. Tourists seek to enter the back stages because they are associated with intimacy and authenticity of experience (Everett, 2012; Bendix, 1989) but are presented with some level of front stage only appearing to be a back stage. This leaves the tourist in a difficult position, as MacCannell notes: *"Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives, and, at the same time, they are deprecated for always failing to achieve these goals"* (1973, p. 592).

The various stages serve an important function in the upholding of certain imaginaries and perceptions of social reality (Salazar, 2011). As such, the mystification of the back stages is sometimes required in order to create a 'real' and 'believable' front stage and *"settings are often not merely copies or replicas of real-life situations, but copies that are presented as disclosing more about the real thing than the real thing itself discloses"* (MacCannell, 1973, pp. 598-599). As some studies show (Everett, 2012; Salazar, 2011; Salazar, 2013), this can lead tourism actors to stage a more rural experience than what their reality and everyday life actually is. Everett calls this a *"retention of idealistic rural identities"* (2012, p. 550) and notes that in e.g. food tourism, many producers have created dual systems: One for tourists to engage with and one for large-scale production. The dual system, ironically, adds more front stages and leads to the separation between consumer and attraction which tourists are aiming to get around.

### 3.4.3 The postmodern tourist's authentication process

The tourist's desire to collect authentic experiences and the imaginaries about what that constitutes are continuously challenged by the difficulty (or impossibility) of entering the ultimate back stage. As described above, some tourism providers stage front regions to appear as back regions to the satisfaction of many tourists (Everett, 2012; Salazar, 2011).

The question is: How do tourists determine whether or not their experience has been authentic and how can they be convinced that staged front regions are in fact back regions? As seen from postmodernity theory, consumers seek reassurance of their consumption choices from either experts or other agents. In the case of tourism experiences, expert reassurance can be provided by e.g. UNESCO in the form of a World Heritage Site certification (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013) or by travel literature. Reassurance from other agents is sought out through e.g. social media such as Tripadvisor where individuals leave comments, ratings, and advice for other tourists regarding attractions and destinations (Brown, 2012). In this way, tourists are inspired by other tourists' behaviour.

The concept of expert or 'peer' reassurance correlates with Cohen and Cohen's (2012) framework of hot and cool authentication. Cool authentication is an act whereby an authority (e.g. scientific, institutional, or religious) explicitly and often formally declares e.g. an object, site, or custom to be authentic and original based on a scientific approach. In postmodern societies, cool authentication often happens through certifications and accreditations. The field for providing certification and accreditation services is widely unregulated and it is unclear who has the authority to authenticate experiences which makes for a contested space. In spite of this, cool authentication often leaves consumers with a perception of objective authenticity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012).

Hot authentication is an authentication process rather than an act and it lacks a singular identifiable, authenticating agent. It is an informal process and takes a subjective, belief-based approach rather than a scientific one. Cohen and Cohen describe hot authentication as a repetitive and accumulative process and note that *"the performative practices by and between visitors help to generate, safeguard and amplify the authenticity of the visited site or event"* (2012, p. 1300). 'Hotly' authenticated experiences can leave consumers with feelings of existential authenticity and truth, situations in which individuals experience feelings of belonging, community, and self-discovery. Postmodern consumers strive for experiences such as these in which they feel a deeper understanding of their own identity and gain experiences perceived to be authentic to help constitute their identity (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Bauman, 2004).

Sites can be both hotly and coolly authenticated simultaneously and the two modes can thus co-construct the authenticity of the site. Taken apart, the consequences of each type of

authentication differ, though. Cool authentication can have a stagnating effect, isolating the object/event etc. from its context and prohibiting any changes to it which can result in 'museumisation'. Conversely, hot authentication has a transformative effect due to its accumulated and reiterative nature. This affects both tourists' perceptions and imaginaries regarding the site as well as locals' understanding of it. Everett, describing her case study of rural food tourism, supports this, claiming that *"tourists did not only seek to strengthen and sustain the local offer, but worked to retain a certain sense of place through their consumption choices and behaviour"* (2012, p. 548). The next section introduces mobility theory which is also relevant to how perceptions of authenticity and imaginaries move and become disseminated.

## 3.5 Mobility

Mobility is a wide concept and it is often connected with the concept of globalisation (Shamir, 2005; Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2010). Mobility theory comprises both large-scale and small-scale mobility. Large-scale mobility consists of flows of human and non-human objects across national borders as well as global networks whereas small-scale mobility is e.g. everyday transportation within a city. Mobility theory is also concerned with restrictions on mobility and the immobility of many groups (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2010; Appadurai, 2000; Salazar, 2013). This thesis is concerned with the former description of mobility, namely that it is large-scale, focusing on global flows and networks.

### 3.5.1 Appadurai's five scapes

Appadurai (2000) conceptualises mobilities through the definition of five different scapes of flows, namely ethnoscape, mediascape, technoscape, financescape, and ideoscape. He defines these five scapes as the various flows which move globally and have done so at an increasing speed over the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. All five scapes are connected and can also be connected to the topics concerning this thesis. However, due to the scope and relevance for the case study, we focus on two of the scapes, namely ethnoscape and mediascape. Ethnoscape refers to the flow of people around the world including migrants, refugees, tourists etc. Throughout our research, we have been introduced to various groups of people affected by movement, both on a local, national, regional, and global scale. Through the notion of ethnoscape, we are able to research how flows of people affect global coffee space and how it becomes manifested in places.

The second scape is mediascape and this relates to the scapes of images. This includes all types of images, transmitted through e.g. newspapers, tv stations, computers, film production etc. Images can be a complicated system to follow because they flow in so many different ways in the sense that they are continually presented and represented by someone with a certain agenda and purpose. The many types of images and media with varying agendas make it difficult for the consumer to decipher the context and interpret the meaning, especially if the representation comes from far away. The reason mediascapes are highly relevant for our research is based on our aim to understand why people travel to specific destinations, which imaginaries they have about those destinations, and how the destinations are presented. Technoscape refers to various types of technology that move at high speed across various boundaries. Financescape refers to currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations and changes happen incredibly quickly in the financescape (Appadurai, 2000). The last scape, ideoscape, is a correlation of various images which are often political and have to do with ideologies of states and counter ideologies from different movements. Even though the five scapes flow globally, they do not flow in the same ways. For instance, some nations accept new technologies quickly while others do not. Again, some nations have strict immigration policies for certain groups while other nations restrict different groups and some nations have almost no immigration policies (Appadurai, 2000).

### 3.5.2 Mobility and the new mobilities paradigm

The 'new mobilities paradigm' accuses social sciences of having had an a-mobile and static perception of the research context. Instead, the new mobilities paradigm steers away from sedentarism towards nomadic theory which emphasises that all places are tied into thin networks of connections (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006). Bauman's (2000, cited in Sheller & Urry, 2006) concept of liquid modernity looks away from the static structures of modernity. Instead, he focuses on the postmodern and on how social entities, including people, machines, information, images etc., are part of systems of movement. According to the new mobilities paradigm, places cannot be seen as fixed but are part of complex networks comprised of hosts, guests, buildings, and objects which come together to produce certain performances in certain places at certain times.

#### **Mobility and issues of mobility**

According to Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006), mobilities have important implications in many different areas. Some of these changes include re-organising various institutions. As

such, mobilities have changed the structure of family, community, and nation and the commitment which people might feel toward it. It creates a distant family life because people are increasingly spread all over the world, away from their place of origin and family, and it transforms the social and educational life of young people through new types of connections. These types of mobilities are facilitated through moorings, such as airports and train stations (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006).

There are also various issues with mobilities. It generates climate change, moves risks and diseases, and creates inequalities among different groups of people, leaving some highly mobile and others highly restricted in their mobility either through forced movement or forced immobility (Shamir, 2005). Bourdieu (1977, cited in Skeggs, 2004) uses his concept of capitals (economic, social, cultural, and symbolic - see section 3.7) to understand how people use their various resources to move and gain access to different fields and thereby also understand who cannot move or is restricted in their movement.

### 3.5.3 Critique of theoretical concepts

In her article, Skeggs (2004) quotes Massey's article from 1991 in which Massey argues that politics of mobility are premised on power geometry, i.e. who can move and who cannot. In her own writing, Massey further argues that *"different social groups have distinct relationships to this anyway differentiated mobility: Some people are more in charge of it than others; some initiate flows and movement, others don't; some are more on the receiving-end of it than others; some are effectively imprisoned by it"* (1994, p. 149). She says that some groups are more mobile than others and that mobility and control over mobility reflect and reinforce power structures (Massey, 1994).

## 3.6 Space and place

### 3.6.1 Defining place

The concepts of space and place often cause confusion because they are defined in various disciplines, e.g. geography, anthropology, and sociology, and the concepts are often seen as interchangeable (Cresswell, 2014). In this section, we outline the concepts of space and place, how they have changed over time, how they are defined by different scholars, and how the concepts play into tourism. We do this in order to understand how and why specific physical places are constructed and negotiated as they are.



Previously, place has often been described in opposition to mobility because place was connected with notions of fixity and lack of motion whereas mobility was associated with movement (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Arguments now move beyond this, claiming that places are neither fixed nor static but dependent on social processes (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008; Massey, 1994). We look to those scholars who argue that place is constantly constructed and reconstructed. Places are seen as not having unique identities but as being created through social interaction full of internal conflicts. Places are based on how people move through them, the connections they make, their memories, and their imagination of a place (Massey, 1994). Therefore, the establishment of places can be planned for but places are ultimately generated through non-predictable meetings between people (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Additionally, places are the outcome of a process of social interaction which is influenced by political and economic interests. This aspect should not be neglected because it raises an important question of responsibility for place-making and place identity (Barenholdt & Granas, 2008). Massey (1994) argues that political negotiations of places are highly based on the imaginations of space and place and therefore understanding these concepts will help us to understand who constructs the places important to this thesis and how these places are negotiated.

### 3.6.2 What about space?

Space is often described as something which is abstract and ungrounded (Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006; Massey, 1994). Rakić and Chambers (2012) argue that space is a realm without meaning and that it becomes a place when meaning is ascribed to it through human actions and imaginaries. On the other hand, Massey (2004) argues that place, which is created by human experience, exists of spaces filled with meaning in a particular place and that space is just as grounded and meaningful as place (Massey, 2004). Even though she agrees that space is also abstract, Massey (Sage Publications, 2013) argues for space as also being material. She sees space as a product of our relationship with each other and not necessarily as physical localities but rather as many realities taking place simultaneously and sometimes crossing paths (Massey, cited in Sage Publications, 2013).

### 3.6.3 Space and time

Massey (1994) argues that there is a big focus on time but that this focus lacks a spatial dimension, leaving out important ways of understanding the world. In this sense, time and space have to be understood as interconnected. Time is the dimension in which things

happen one after the other whereas space comprises multiple dimensions of realities existing at the same time. This dimension of multiplicity is important to acknowledge because it presents us with the existence of the 'Other' and helps us to understand power and inequality (Massey, cited in Sage Publications, 2013). By understanding space through multiplicity and simultaneity, we are able to see alternative ways of understanding the world, e.g. in the realms of politics, economy etc. Massey (cited in Sage Publications, 2013) calls temporal thinking without space a Eurocentric way of understanding the world. By only looking at time, we understand the way we live and progress as linear and this has led to a certain way of perceiving development, dividing countries into developed, developing, and underdeveloped stages. Perceiving development in a linear way gives an understanding that countries which are developing or underdeveloped are meant to linearly progress towards the developed countries and their way of thinking. However, by including space and multiplicity, we open up for the possibility that countries are all present in the same time and moving in different directions rather than following a prescribed linear pattern (Massey, cited in Sage Publications, 2013). Massey (cited in Sage Publications, 2013) further argues that certain areas of the world, like South America, are not interested in looking to the neoliberal West for inspiration but are interested in a different model which is more egalitarian and communitarian. Through these examples, Massey gives an understanding of how she sees space and why it is important to understand space as something more than abstract and without meaning but rather as a dimension which helps us understand power relations, politics, and social relations across the globe.

### 3.6.4 Strategic construction of place

In their article, Rakić and Chambers (2012) argue that place is constructed through social and cultural practices but emphasise that the individual embodied experiences and performances play just as big a role because they are important for the creation and modification of the culturally and socially constructed meanings of places. Furthermore, they argue that places are fluid and constantly changing through continuous reconstruction. The same place is experienced differently by different people but it is also experienced differently by the same person at different times. However, Rakić and Chambers (2012) do not discuss place construction through more strategic elements, such as is done through branding or politics. By including Massey's (2004) conceptualisation of space into the discussion of place construction, we can discuss how relations are constructed globally through power struggles, politics, economics, and various agendas and how this affects the construction of places. Barenholdt and Granas (2008) define places as not only constructed through

physical presence at a place but through images, brands and politics, too. Places are therefore constructed in a certain way for a specific purpose.

In the thesis, we analyse and discuss how a coffee region in Colombia is constructed. We investigate how place is constructed based on the imaginaries which exist about the place and based on the reconstruction created by specific actors. By understanding Massey's dimension of space, in this case a space called coffee culture, and how various actors negotiate their power, we can analyse more specifically how and who constructs and negotiates places in the Coffee Region.

### 3.7 Capitals

Bourdieu (1986) utilises the concepts of field theory and capitals which demonstrate how actors negotiate power and help clarify why different actors have different degrees of power in the social world. The social world is comprised of a social space divided into fields, each one with its specific set of rules. The rules applying in each field are defined by the behaviour of the agents operating in the given field and agents are admitted into the field as a result of their combined capitals. Capitals are accumulated over time and this condition entails that not all agents have access to the same levels of capitals and the same possibilities. This provides both constraints and opportunities for agents. Field theory highlights the importance of other forms of capital than the economic one and Bourdieu (1986) introduces four forms of capital, namely economic, cultural, social, and symbolic.

#### **Cultural capital**

Cultural capital is the term covering an agent's assets related to education, knowledge, skills, and behaviour. It can exist in three different forms, namely embodied, objectified, or institutionalised states. Cultural capital in the embodied state refers to long-lasting knowledge acquired by the agent through an investment of time and forming part of the agent's habitus. Objectified cultural capital comprises material goods, and, lastly, institutionalised cultural capital consists of e.g. certificates issuing a guarantee of the agent's cultural capital. Institutionalised cultural capital has lasting value and does not need to continually prove its worth; its reliability is established through the certificate (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) links cultural capital to social class by stating that cultural capital is based on symbolic characteristics such as taste, material belongings, skills, credentials etc. which all link to one's social status. People who share e.g. similar tastes (in clothing, music, literature etc.) or the same educational degree feel a sense of community and identify with one another, creating a common social field. Bourdieu (1986) also argues that cultural

capital is a source of inequality because some forms of cultural capital are valued over others and this can hinder the social mobility of some people while enhancing it for others.

### **Social capital**

An agent's social capital consists of the accumulated potential and actual resources to which the agent has access due to his/her membership of more or less institutionalised groups and networks. These networks do not exist in and of themselves but are enacted and thus maintained through exchanges and interactions and are upheld by e.g. feelings of gratitude and reciprocity. The potentially accessible resources in a network often increase as trust and reliability develop and more exchanges of social capital can take place (Bourdieu, 1986; Wilken, 2011). These exchanges are dependent upon two characteristics, namely the network itself and the amount and quality of the resources available. The quality of the network is more important than the size of it. An agent's social capital is thus a function of his/her own social capital and the nature of the various capitals accessible through networks. The accumulated social capital of a group is often transferred to a single agent or a few agents who represent the entire group. The process of choosing representatives for the group can be more or less institutionalised. The larger the group and the weaker the agents, the more powerful will the group's representatives be even though their power only exists by virtue of the group members' acceptance of their leadership (Bourdieu, 1986). Moscardo (2014) also theorises on capitals and concluded from her extensive analysis of rural tourism development projects that it is useful to divide social capital into two types, namely bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital comprises the internal structures in a group which tie it together and make it cohesive while the term bridging social capital covers the external relations which one group has with other groups in a larger network.

### **Economic capital**

Economic capital is the most powerful type of capital and comprises monetary wealth and goods that can be directly converted to money, e.g. property. It allows for instantaneous exchanges in a different manner than both cultural and social capital which require an investment of time in either the acquisition of knowledge or in establishing and maintaining relationships. Both social and cultural capital are necessary to gain access to certain exchanges where economic capital alone does not suffice. Both cultural and social capitals can ultimately be converted to economic capital which is at the root of all other forms of capitals. Cultural capital can be converted by considering the monetary cost of acquiring knowledge, e.g. time off from work, while social capital can be converted to economic capital because it is constituted in part by it (Bourdieu, 1986).

## Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital does not form capital in and of itself. Symbolic capital is *'the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate'* (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 17). Therefore, it is the value and recognition added as result of the other three capitals and only exists in the eyes of other agents. Symbolic capital is often defined as honor and prestige which a person can receive through the conversion of other forms of capital and it only has value within specific social structures where that particular trait is acknowledged. Symbolic capital is also a way of understanding power because it helps determine one's social position. Agents will use symbolic capital to produce and reproduce power relations (Bourdieu, 1989).

## 3.8 Power

### 3.8.1 Capitals and fields of power

In the previous section, the notion of capitals was defined utilising Pierre Bourdieu's (1986; 1989) theoretical framework. We view these four types of capital (social, economic, cultural, and symbolic) as crucial for understanding how relevant actors are positioned and how, through capitals, they can negotiate and renegotiate their positions. All four capitals are important for understanding power and power struggles which occur in various fields. To further the understanding of how these capitals are used as tools of power, we define a few other important terms by Bourdieu, namely habitus, doxa, and field or field theory. Habitus refers to the set of dispositions and experiences which people gain through socialisation. It is the way a person acts and the reason why they do so which is based on their social, economic, cultural, and symbolic capital. Doxa is the set of rules, either spoken or unspoken, which people agree on in a given field. Doxa is, if unchallenged, taken-for-granted assumptions, a source and manifestation of power. However, resistance can occur if agents, based on their habitus, start to challenge and change the doxa of the field. Lastly, field refers to the social arena in which power struggles, conflicts, and interactions take place. In a given field, certain kinds of capital are at stake while others are not, e.g. economic capital is more important than social capital in some fields. Determining actors' types of capitals and their habitus can demonstrate why some actors are powerful in particular fields, but not in others, even though the same capitals can sometimes be acknowledged in several fields (Bourdieu, 1989). Through field theory, Bourdieu (1989) shows how power can be exercised through the notion of symbolic power. Symbolic power refers to the way actors recognise other



groups as legitimate and thereby fail to see them as social constructs which often serve dominant class interests.

### **Critique of Bourdieu**

King criticises Bourdieu because he sees a discrepancy between the concept of habitus and what King terms Bourdieu's "*practical theory*" (2000, p. 421). These concepts are seen as incompatible because practical theory emphasises the negotiated nature of social interactions between interconnected individuals while habitus describes social fields as characterised by objective, previously created structures which condition and determine individuals' behaviour. The issue thus revolves around the understanding of structure-agency, also known as objectivism-subjectivism. King (2000) argues that Bourdieu's purpose with his practical theory is to overcome the idea of objective structures determining social fields but by creating the concept of habitus, he lapses back into the notion that social behaviour is determined by individuals' habituses which are determined by the objective structure they are born in to.

Bourdieu attempts to make the habitus more flexible (and thus less objective and deterministic) by relating it to the concept of field which is negotiated by the individuals present in it. However, this flexibility is at odds with Bourdieu's formal definition of habitus and the concept is thus still problematic even though Bourdieu does attempt to get closer to his own understanding of the social world as negotiated, as put forth in his practical theory.

### **3.8.2 Power strategies and resistance of power**

Michel de Certeau (1984) also uses the concept of practice theory to understand everyday practices of what he calls users or consumers. He argues that users are not simply passive actors who are guided by the rules of society but are actors who have agency and who can interact and move within social structures. He uses the concepts of strategy and tactics to describe power and the resistance of power. Strategies refer to regulations created by organisational power structures, both small and large, public and private. He argues that strategies are used towards external entities and created to institute a set of rules for official ends. On the other hand, tactics are concerned with the resistance towards power used by those oppressed by the set of rules deployed. Tactics are defensive and opportunistic and are used in spaces which are governed by organisational power structures (de Certeau, 1984). De Certeau exemplifies this in his chapter 'Walking in the City' (1984) where he describes the city as created by the various strategies of e.g. government and corporations who produce the different parts, creating the city as a unified whole. The tactics are

deployed by the actors who use the city and move around in it. These actors move within the strategies and structures that create the city but also have the opportunity to move in a way which can never be fully determined by the organising bodies, e.g. taking shortcuts and moving across areas which were not meant for crossing (de Certeau, 1984). This way of looking at power and resistance to power helps analyse how powerful global and national actors within the current case study use their position to create strategies at specific destinations and how actors, e.g. local actors governed by these strategies, have the opportunity to resist through tactics, using tactics to move through the strategies and thereby circumventing them.

### 3.8.3 Power of movement

Power also plays into the concept of mobilities. As stated in paragraph 3.5.3, Massey (1991, cited in Skeggs, 2004) describes control over mobility as a way to reflect and reinforce power. Massey (1994, cited in Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006) sees power as an important part of mobilities and explains how places and technologies enhance the mobility of some people and places, especially those who are already mobile, and at the same time increase the immobility of others. Ahmed argues that the *“idealisation of movement, or transformation of movement into a fetish, depends upon the exclusion of others who are already positioned as not free in the same way”* (2004, p. 152, cited in Sheller & Urry 2006). Including the concept of power in the discussion of mobility allows us to analyse why and how some actors have the ability to move while others do not and how this affects the way in which social hierarchies are formed through mobility (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006).

## 4 Analysis

The analysis investigates the case study by analysing both primary data collected during the fieldwork and secondary data collected through desk research using the theoretical framework. As previously stated, the research question is: *How is the construction of place identity in the Colombian Coffee Region influenced by the negotiation of coffee space?* It is operationalised through three research aims which are 1) Which actors construct the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee identity through the negotiation of which capitals?, 2) Which imaginaries influence the construction of coffee identity in the Coffee Region? and, lastly, 3) How is the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC) imaginary about Colombian coffee identity established and physically manifested? These questions are explored in this chapter.

### 4.1 The Colombian society and context

As a bridge to the analysis, this section offers a brief introduction to the country of Colombia and the context in which the analytical case unfolds. Colombia is located in the Northwestern corner of South America and borders both the Caribbean and Pacific oceans. It has a population of approximately 48 million people and more than 75 % of the population lives in urban areas. The region of most political and economic importance is the Andean one which is also home to the three most populous cities, namely Medellín, Cali, and the capital city of Bogotá. Approximately 60 % of the population is mestizo, 20 % is mulatto, and 20 % is of European descent which is a testament to the history of the country involving both Spanish colonisation in 1525 and the arrival of African slaves ([Gilmore et al., 2018](#); [The World Bank, n.d.](#)).

Agriculture is an important occupation and source of income to the country and e.g. coffee, sugar, cotton, bananas, and flowers are cultivated. Aside from coffee, perhaps the most famous crop is coca, the base ingredient for cocaine. Cocaine production has been a central component in some of the violent and troubled times which the country underwent during the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century. Colombia suffered under both strong drug cartels and revolutionary paramilitary groups which the government fought. In 2017, the central guerrilla group FARC became a political party and made a peace agreement with the government which is considered a monumental step towards a safer country. Aside from agriculture, important sectors to the economy are e.g. fossil fuels and manufacturing. Colombia is rich in natural resources such as coal and petroleum and has significant industrial productions of textile and chemicals ([Gilmore et al., 2018](#)).

The ministry of commerce and industry also comprises the area of tourism which involves the service sector more than manufacturing and trade does. The ministry identifies tourism as a way to attract foreign investment, improve the international reputation of Colombia, and it is also a way of diversifying the economy. Studies ([MINCIT, 2011-a](#); [MINCIT, 2011-b](#)) carried out for the ministry in 2012 demonstrate that there is growth potential in Colombian tourism which is lagging behind international levels of tourism in various aspects and that tourist flows should be spread out more since the majority of tourists in 2010 only visited Cartagena and/or Bogotá. The studies identify various types of tourism and regions in the country which can be developed to increase tourism, for instance cultural and nature tourism are highlighted and it is noted that there is a big potential for increasing visitor numbers to UNESCO World Heritage sites since Cartagena is the only one with high visitor numbers. The Coffee Region is identified as one of the destinations within nature tourism which has development potential ([MINCIT, 2011-a](#); [MINCIT, 2011-b](#)) and a study from 2014 outlines the opportunities and challenges and sets a vision for an increase in tourism by 2023 in the region ([FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014](#)). The actors involved in the effort to develop tourism in the Coffee Region are unfolded in the following section.

## 4.2 The Colombian actors

In this section of the analysis, our objective is to unfold which and how Colombian actors construct and define the Coffee Region. Based on Bourdieu's field theory, we analyse the way in which the actors negotiate the Colombian coffee identity. By utilising the concept of capitals, we identify how the different agents negotiate their positions and understanding of coffee identity. We have identified three actors who play an important role in promoting tourism in the Coffee Region and defining Colombian coffee identity. These actors are the Colombian Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (hereinafter referred to as the Tourism Ministry), the Colombian Coffee Growers' Federation (FNC), and a group defined as other Colombian tourism actors working with coffee tourism. We believe that these actors are important for understanding the case study. However, we are aware that there are other actors present in the context, as well, such as Colombian tourists, international organisations, and global tourism actors. However, we have excluded these from the analysis due to the scope of the research question and the other actors being more central to how Colombian coffee identity is constructed towards North American and European consumers.

## **The Tourism Ministry**

As the major governmental body in charge of the area, the Colombian Tourism Ministry occupies an important role in the development of the Coffee Region. As stated in the previous section, the Tourism Ministry has a significant interest in the region because increased tourism can lead to further foreign investment, employment, and an improvement of the overall national image of Colombia. The benefits of capitalising on these opportunities could extend further than tourism and might encourage e.g. foreign investments in other sectors and increased exports.

The Ministry holds embodied cultural capital due to its long-lasting knowledge about tourism in Colombia and its ability to produce new knowledge through the research branch FONTUR which collects data and creates sector analyses. One of the FONTUR analyses includes a SWOT analysis aimed at demonstrating how Colombia is perceived as a coffee country and to determine the competitiveness of the region and which changes, if any, should be made (FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014). The analysis concludes that tourists expect specialty coffee to be part of the coffee culture they will experience in Colombia based on their own previous knowledge about Colombian coffee. Therefore, it would be an advantage for Colombia to be experienced as a coffee consumption country and not just the production country which it traditionally has been (FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014).

Specialty coffee is defined in this thesis as using many different types of equipment for the brewing process, e.g. Chemex or cold drip, grinding and brewing the coffee very meticulously, and using high quality coffee beans. Part of the specialty coffee culture is also the experience connected to drinking the coffee, e.g. knowing the origin of the coffee, details about its cultivation, and personalisation of the coffee drink, i.e. choosing the specific method of brewing, type of coffee bean, and additional ingredients such as milk or sirups (Appendix 5, interview 6; FNC, 2016).

Apart from embodied cultural capital, the Tourism Ministry's government position also entails strong symbolic power and positions the Tourism Ministry as an authority in terms of setting the course for tourism development, priorities, and funding, among other things. In all, these capitals combined allow the Tourism Ministry to create formalised knowledge about Colombian tourism and to define government action within the sector, thus strongly influencing the way tourism develops. However, the Ministry is, as mentioned, not the only important actor in the context and the analysis therefore investigates why and how the FNC is also in a position to influence tourism in the Coffee Region.

### ***Federación Nacional de Cafeteros de Colombia (FNC)***

The FNC is the Colombian Coffee Growers' Federation which was established in 1927. The organisation was created by farmers who decided to work together to improve the coffee industry in Colombia. Since then, the organisation has grown into a powerful actor in Colombian industry and is also a strong actor in the international coffee market (FNC, 2017-c). The FNC is considered the world's largest rural NGO and is relevant in this context because it has also moved into the territory of tourism (FNC, 2017-c). The FNC has various motivations for being concerned with tourism, e.g. because tourism presents an opportunity for the FNC to redefine Colombian coffee identity to include more coffee consumption rather than mainly production. This redefinition is beneficial to the FNC because it can increase national coffee consumption and position coffee as a more recognised, prestigious product which is aligned with both the FNC's constituents' interests and the Western market preferences of how to consume coffee.

As we observed during our fieldwork, the reframing of coffee as a prestigious product is happening already with many specialty coffee houses appearing in both Bogotá and Medellín. Two informants in Bogotá told us that this is a new and rapid development and that Colombians are only starting to realise the potential of coffee and coffee tourism in this sense (Appendix 2; Appendix 4; Appendix 5, interview 6). We argue that by moving into the new industry of tourism, the power of the FNC also increases because it becomes a mediator between its members (who are potential tourism actors) and the Tourism Ministry and global tourism system. Thus, the organisation increases its social capital.

The social capital of the FNC is grounded in its position as the representative of a large institutionalised network of Colombian coffee farmers, both small and large (FNC, n.d.-a; FNC, n.d.-c). In general, the FNC works to improve the conditions for Colombian coffee producers and make sure that all farms have a place in the coffee market, regardless of their size, thereby increasing farmers' social and economic capital (FNC, n.d.-c). However, according to our informant Alejandro, a Colombian man living in Denmark and co-owner of the coffee business Kaffe Bueno, not all members feel the benefits of the FNC equally and he argues that the FNC mainly benefits the large farms, making them more powerful and increasing their capitals, both socially and economically. Thus, less resources are spent on small farms even though the farmers have to pay the same amount of fees to the FNC (Appendix 7). This follows the argument of Massey (1994) who claims that power is also related to mobility, e.g. who can move and who cannot. She argues that an individual's or organisation's mobility is dependent on their social group and that some groups are more in charge of mobility than others. In this case, the support from the FNC increases the power and mobility for big farmers since the organisation spends the majority of its resources on



them. This happens because the FNC estimates that there is more potential for economic growth at the large farms than on the smaller ones ([Appendix 7](#)). This conflict within the network with smaller farms feeling marginalised weakens the bonding social capital of the FNC because the group is internally divided. Even so, the FNC still has strong bridging social capital with ties to powerful actors such as the Tourism Ministry and commercial actors, e.g. Coca Cola ([FNC, 2017-b](#)).

In terms of cultural capital, the FNC has embodied cultural capital accumulated through its long-standing history and knowledge about coffee which the organisation continually increases through its research institution CENICAFE ([FNC, 2017-c](#)). The produced knowledge is important to its constituency and provides the FNC with power of definition and knowledge creation. Over the years, the organisation has also increased its economic capital through the collection of fees, income from Juan Valdez (its global coffee chain), funding from the Tourism Ministry etc. ([Appendix 7](#); [FNC, n.d.-b](#)). Combined, the organisation's cultural, social, and economic capitals entail a high level of symbolic capital which provides the FNC with authority and legitimacy within the context of the Colombian industry. This symbolic capital and status as a powerful actor is not only possible because of the way the FNC is positioned in relation to the different actors but also because the authority and legitimacy of the organisation remains largely unchallenged. If all coffee farmers suddenly viewed the FNC as illegitimate and non-authoritative, the FNC would no longer be able to use this symbolic power as a tool of negotiation.

The FNC and the Tourism Ministry have relations in several ways and are interdependent. The FNC benefits from the economic capital of the Tourism Ministry by receiving funding, cultural capital is transferred through the sharing of knowledge and analyses, and the symbolic capital of the Tourism Ministry is necessary for the FNC to apply for selected areas in the Coffee Region to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) ([FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014](#)). The Tourism Ministry and the FNC also negotiate social capital because they both represent strong institutionalised networks and, combined, these capitals give legitimacy and authority to their shared project in the Coffee Region (see section 4.4).

### **Coffee farmers and tourism workers**

The last group of Colombian actors with stakes in the development of coffee tourism which we identify consists of non-institutional actors such as tourism workers and individual coffee farmers. We are aware that coffee farmers are part of the FNC network but in this case we distinguish between the FNC leadership and the individual farmers. The FNC is a large organisation with 540,000 coffee producing families as members and a professional

leadership (FNC, n.d.-a). We therefore argue that in this case it is relevant to divide the organisation into the leadership which sets out strategies and handles the business and logistical aspects and, on the other hand, the grassroots consisting of the individual coffee farmers whose main occupation is growing coffee. Furthermore, we are aware that there is a difference between coffee farmers and other tourism workers, namely because the coffee farmers are organised under the FNC and also because they are not solely tourism workers. However, in this case we argue that coffee farmers and other tourism workers have a lot in common, in particular because they are the ones who are present at the physical tourism sites and in touch with tourists. Small farmers' economic capital is also similar to that of other tourism workers such as tour guides. This is supported by our informant from the large coffee farm San Alberto who told us that 90 % of Colombian coffee farms are small, one-family farms who only grow the coffee and immediately after the harvest sell the beans to other actors who handle the rest of the production chain where value is added (Appendix 4). This is why these two types of actors will be discussed as one group.

Compared to the Tourism Ministry and the FNC, these actors lack the strong bridging social capital as well as the institutionalised cultural capital which the other two groups have. They do, however, have other capitals to negotiate with. Two tour guides in Bogotá told us that the formalisation of tourism in Colombia presents many guides with issues because they have embodied cultural capital due to their experience as tourism guides but lack the formal education and thus institutionalised cultural capital which e.g. the Tourism Ministry can create requirements about due to its symbolic capital and powerful position (Appendix 5, interview 6). Therefore, an ongoing negotiation about a guide certification is taking place between the Tourism Ministry and guides who have, respectively, symbolic and institutionalised cultural capital versus embodied cultural capital to bargain with.

The non-institutional actors have less economic capital and, in continuation, an important motivation for their participation in tourism is to increase their economic capital. While actors such as the coffee farmers have many years of experience with growing coffee crops and thus hold embodied cultural capital, in total they have less symbolic capital than the Tourism Ministry and the FNC. However, from our fieldwork we did identify a level of bonding social capital within this group where e.g. small farmers lend each other their sustainability certification stamps to help one another (Appendix 3) and, as mentioned previously, guides organise to bargain with the government to ensure that non-certified guides are not put out of work (Appendix 5, interview 6). These examples also demonstrate de Certeau's (1984) concept of tactics at work because actors with less opportunities to negotiate their capitals find ways to circumvent the strategies created by powerful institutions to govern the spaces

in which the smaller actors exist. In this case, the non-institutional actors employ their social and cultural capital as tactics to work around the strategies.

Farmers also hold objectified cultural capital because they own the farms and the coffee. Due to this ownership, the farmers are essential to the FNC because they are one of the means of presenting the Coffee Region to the world and because the coffee beans are at the core of the FNC's business (FNC, 2015-a). However, the FNC is also a very powerful actor for the farmers since the organisation defines how farmers in Colombia work and has standardised how coffee is produced (FNC, n.d.-d). The FNC does not as such define the standardisation of coffee production but the organisation follows international quality control rules in order to remain competitive and these are reinforced upon coffee growers by the FNC (FNC, n.d.-d). As such, the FNC and individual coffee farmers negotiate with, respectively, institutional cultural capital, bridging social capital, economic capital, and symbolic capital versus embodied cultural capital, objectified cultural capital, and bonding social capital.

Considering Massey's (1994, cited in Hannam, Sheller & Urry, 2006) notion of power and mobility highlights how institutionalised cultural capital and symbolic capital reproduce the power relations between the Tourism Ministry, the FNC, and the non-institutional actors and empower the already mobile organisations while also limiting the mobility and power of the other actors, e.g. by restricting the tour guides' ability to work.

The three groups of actors identified in this section all have an interest in engaging with coffee tourism and tourism in the Coffee Region. They all negotiate and renegotiate their positions with cultural, symbolic, and economic capital in the field, also with the purpose of positioning themselves towards global actors, in this case North American and European tourists. Their different capitals enable them to determine the to them most beneficial way of constructing the touristic space and place and identify other actors who might be useful in supporting the chosen framing. In the following section, we analyse one of the actors which the FNC and Tourism Ministry have identified as a useful tool and see as an opportunity to support their construction of the Coffee Region, namely UNESCO.



*Fig. 3 The vast majority of Colombian coffee farms are small family businesses and the farmers often have the accumulated experience of several generations of coffee growers in the family (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 11 January 2018)*

### 4.3 UNESCO as a tool for identity construction

UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation) is in this thesis considered an important actor because it provides opportunities which have been exploited by the FNC. This has led to the Coffee Region becoming a UNESCO World Heritage Site (WHS) in 2011 (FNC, 2011). The FNC recognises opportunities such as increasing tourism, especially sustainable tourism, adding value to the region's product (coffee), and to visitors' experiences (FNC, 2015-a). This is a possibility with UNESCO who lists the potential for increased tourism and income as a benefit of ratifying the World Heritage Convention and achieving site inscription (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-b). UNESCO governs the World Heritage Convention which was adopted in 1972 and serves the purpose of protecting and preserving natural and cultural heritage for the present and future citizenry of the world (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-b). The World Heritage Convention is rooted in a postmodern Western context and according to UNESCO itself "the idea of combining conservation of cultural sites with those of nature comes from the United States of America" (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-b). Even though UNESCO is rooted in a U.S. context, it is present in and influences all continents except for Antarctica. For the FNC, there are possibilities and advantages in becoming certified by UNESCO and in this section we analyse why UNESCO is a relevant tool for the FNC and



what they can achieve with this certification. Even though UNESCO has been identified as a relevant tool and opportunity for the FNC, we argue that the necessity of UNESCO is based on the powerful position which the organisation has globally. The FNC can use UNESCO to its advantage but is at the same time dependent on UNESCO because of the important role of the organisation, especially in North America and Europe which are markets the FNC is interested in. In order for the Coffee Region to be considered heritage by UNESCO, the FNC has to align its branding of Colombian coffee to fit the criterias set up by UNESCO. This will be elaborated throughout this section.

### **A stamp of approval**

According to Bauman (1991), nation-states are not the only regulating authorities anymore and authority has been fragmented and dissipated onto various other actors. This leaves consumers with more responsibility for the ethical correctness of their choices. Within heritage tourism, one of the most important actors which has gained authority is UNESCO and we claim that Colombian actors recognise this authority and see the market opportunities born out of postmodern trends; opportunities which UNESCO is part of creating. According to postmodernity theory, consumers seek reassurance of their consumption choices from either experts or other agents. In the case of tourism experiences, expert reassurance can be provided by e.g. UNESCO in the form of a World Heritage Site certification (Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013) or by travel literature. Some scholars define the postmodern tourist as someone who is seeking old-fashioned, rural, back-to-basics tourism experiences in the search of authenticity and simplicity (Everett, 2012; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013) or as a search for the primitive authentic element which Western postindustrial societies lack (McCannell, 1973). UNESCO works to preserve natural and cultural heritage which is what the postmodern tourist is seeking according to these definitions. The consumer also seeks reassurance of the value of their choices in a self-constitution perspective. The value of an experience for the self-constitution process depends, for instance, on the perceived authenticity of the experience. This coheres with both Bauman's (1991) definition of expert reassurance and Cohen and Cohen's (2012) cool authentication which can both be identified with UNESCO. In the case of the World Heritage Convention, specific requirements have been created which regulate the lengthy inscription procedure and determine whether or not a proposed inscription can be approved (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-d). This form of cool authentication oftentimes creates an understanding of the inscribed listings as objectively authentic (Cohen & Cohen, 2012), a characteristic which appeals to postmodern tourists seeking reassurance of their travel choices and often desiring authentic experiences (Everett, 2012). It does not only appeal to tourists but also to states and large organisations, in this case the FNC and the Tourism

Ministry, who recognise the possibilities related to having a coolly authenticated tourism site (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). Based on the reassurance which postmodern tourists seek and UNESCO's status as an expert who can identify something as authentic, tourists accept UNESCO's stamp of approval and acknowledge the expertise of the organisation. We will further go into depth with two reasons for why UNESCO is important for the FNC, namely that UNESCO helps strengthen the FNC's brand and, secondly, because UNESCO can be part of increasing FNC's mobility and thus its position in the global market.

### **The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia**

The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia (CCLC) is an area in Colombia also known as the Coffee Region which consists of four different departments, 47 municipalities, approximately 24,000 coffee farms, and 80,000 inhabitants (FNC, 2011). The CCLC brand is created by the FNC and the Tourism Ministry and together they have used the CCLC to nominate the Coffee Region for inscription as a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The FNC uses the CCLC to define the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee identity. The CCLC is described as a *"region that is characterized by the social and cultural characteristics of the coffee landscape and production [...] Aspects such as traditions, language and other forms of intangible heritage, have been preserved, mostly by owners and the local community"* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-a). This quote highlights some of the elements which characterise the CCLC, e.g. traditions of farming which are continually practiced by the coffee farmers. UNESCO works to preserve both the natural landscape and cultural heritage and through the CCLC, the FNC tries to align its framing with what characterises heritage according to UNESCO (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The FNC promotes different attributes of the CCLC, claiming them to be traditional and authentic characteristics. The organisation emphasises traditional architecture which has very few new additions and no substantial modifications (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-a) as well as the unique landscape and authentic crafts. Furthermore, the CCLC is also associated with the taste of the world's best mild washed coffee (FNC, 2015-a). The latter attribute is not traditionally connected to Colombian coffee consumption but is here promoted as a cultural attribute and as part of the way the FNC wishes to brand the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee. This follows what Gravari-Barbas and Graburn (2012) as well as Salazar (2011) discuss about artefacts and images. They argue that through the images which a host population produces, the hosts try to create images which represent their own culture, in this case traditional farming traits, and at the same time appeal to the imaginaries which tourists have about coffee consumption in Colombia. The artefact, coffee, does not have the same meaning to Colombian farmers and North American and European tourists. For Colombian farmers, coffee represents a crop and for the North American and



European tourists, coffee represents a lifestyle. We will elaborate further on the mix of old attributes and new traditions in section 4.4.

The FNC uses the CCLC to create a brand around Colombian coffee (FNC, 2015-a) and through the inscription into UNESCO, the brand gains a stamp of authenticity which is a way to gain further recognition as well as to increase global attention which is the theme of the following paragraph. This stamp of authenticity is a way for the FNC and the Colombian state to attract the type of postmodern tourist described in the previous section as well as attracting a targeted consumer segment. The FNC itself describes this segment as the millennial consumer, mostly from the USA, who practises out-of-home consumption and is interested in the origin of the product being consumed (FNC, 2016). The FNC is thus interested in framing the origin of Colombian coffee which the organisation does through its definition of the CCLC (FNC, 2015-a).



*Fig. 4 One of the aspects highlighted in the CCLC definitions is the traditional Coffee Region architecture, here pictured in Marsella, Risaralda (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 13 January 2018)*

### **The mobility of the FNC**

Besides having Colombian coffee identity certified as authentic by UNESCO to attract millennial consumers as well as tourists, UNESCO is also a way for the FNC to increase its mobility, both socially and physically. UNESCO is an organisation which is present throughout most of the world, as previously stated in this section. Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) argue that it is important to understand that power is part of mobility because it is

through power that we can understand how some actors can move while others cannot, based on the position an actor has in a social hierarchy. This argument is used here to analyse why the FNC is interested in increasing its mobility and thereby its social position and UNESCO is a way for the FNC to achieve this. Massey (1991, cited in Skeggs, 2004) argues that some actors are more in charge of mobility than others and have the opportunity to initiate movement. As a powerful global organisation, UNESCO represents an opportunity for the FNC to increase its own mobility through the UNESCO certification, thus increasing its institutional cultural capital.

This creates a position for the FNC in which the organisation has symbolic power by being perceived as legitimate and recognised globally (Bourdieu, 1986; 1989). An example of the global recognition is that the FNC has attended global conferences and received recognition and positive feedback for the CCLC (FNC, 2015-a).

Furthermore, we see how important UNESCO is for the FNC in travel literature such as Lonely Planet. By investigating two travel books about Colombia by Lonely Planet, one published before and one published after the UNESCO inscription in 2011, we see a significant change and increase in the focus on the Coffee Region. Before 2011, the Coffee Region is barely mentioned and the cities within the region are mentioned more in relation to nightlife rather than coffee. After 2011, there is a significant section of the book dedicated to this region and the main focus is on coffee (Porup, et al. 2009; Egerton et al. 2015). This is elaborated upon in Section 4.4.

### **Uneven distribution of mobility**

Massey (1994) also argues that besides those initiating or receiving mobility there are also those who are imprisoned by mobility and restricted in their movement. Creating the CCLC brand and becoming UNESCO certified does not only affect the FNC who benefits from it but it also affects those who live in the protected areas, namely the coffee farmers. Through the creation of the CCLC and the WHS certification, the characteristics connected to the CCLC have been imposed on the coffee farmers. An example of this is that the departments localised in the CCLC area can use the CCLC brand in the promotion of tourism and they need permission from the FNC to do so (FNC, 2015-a). This restriction of mobility is a way to reinforce power structures between those who are mobile and those whose mobility is being controlled by others (Skeggs, 2004). Mobility in this sense is not referred to as physical movement but rather a restriction of how the departments themselves can define the Coffee Region because the FNC and Tourism Ministry as powerful actors have created an overarching narrative for the region.

However, there are also advantages for the local citizens in the Coffee Region and an increase in mobility can be argued for. This is because there is an increase in tourism and

therefore tourism business in the Coffee Region. Both coffee farmers and other local actors have gained the opportunity to increase their income by becoming tourism providers such as tour guides, homestay owners, and touristic coffee farm owners etc. which creates new market opportunities in the area.

There are also coffee regions and farms outside of the defined CCLC area and even though some of these experience some tourism ([Appendix 5, interview 3](#)), they do not gain the same advantages from the WHS certification even though they are still governed by the FNC. The Coffee Region only makes up about 35 % of the Colombian coffee farms but has been defined as The Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia by the FNC, the Colombian state, and UNESCO ([Zapata & Ortega, 2010](#)), thereby excluding other coffee regions and farmers to some extent. This is another example that demonstrates the power structures between coffee actors in Colombia and the power which the FNC holds but also the recognition and thereby power which UNESCO holds globally ([Bourdieu, 1989](#)).

### **Flows of Media**

Appadurai ([2000](#)) defines the concept of mediascape as the movement of representations in the form of images and text. The continuous reproduction of representations complicates the act of clarifying the original sender, their agenda, the intended message, and the intended audience. In order to understand the construction and reconstruction of Colombian coffee identity by the FNC, we analyse how coffee identity is promoted to one of the major target groups of the CCLC outside Colombia, namely the North American and European consumers. Through media, imaginaries are created for the receivers of the media ([Salazar, 2011](#)). In this thesis, we focus on Colombian, North American, and European actors and in this section we specifically analyse media reaching North American and European actors, more specifically Danish media and Lonely Planet. Based on our findings, we argue that the sender of most of the imaginaries is the FNC, through the CCLC brand and through UNESCO, and the following paragraph is an elaboration of this.

As discussed previously in this section, the representation of Colombian coffee identity by the FNC has happened significantly through the flow between the FNC and UNESCO. The information has then been passed on from UNESCO to other nodes in the mediascape, disguising somewhat that the FNC is, in fact, the author of most of the messages. A reason for this may be that UNESCO is a more recognised and well-known authority many places in the world, as stated in the beginning of the section, while the FNC is not and therefore needs the UNESCO stamp of approval. The inscription into UNESCO has increased the visibility of Colombian coffee and the CCLC brand and this is clear in different types of media. A search on Danish news articles about Colombian coffee and coffee tourism gave us 73 results.

However, by reading through the articles it became clear that many of the articles were repetitions of each other. The articles describe the Coffee Region in Colombia with characteristics such as incredible landscape, unique architecture, great coffee, and traditional coffee growing techniques. These descriptions all feed into the CCLC brand and how the region is represented by the FNC through UNESCO. One article even mentions the UNESCO listing to validate the authenticity of the area and another article mentions the increase in tourism in this part of Colombia ([Hermann, 2014-a](#); [Harritshøj, 2014](#)). The similarity between representations demonstrates that, although they come from different media outlets, they are likely to be informed by the same source passing information on through flows of media into the Danish mediascape. We argue that the source informing these articles can be traced back to the FNC through the CCLC and UNESCO as these are the attributes which are highlighted in the articles. Furthermore, one of the articles specifically mentions the FNC, highlighting the uniqueness of the organisation which, the author argues, is not seen anywhere else in the world. The article has descriptions which are taken directly from FNC articles and translated into Danish. For instance, it is stated that the FNC earns money from coffee sales and from Juan Valdez and some of this money goes into the farmers' purchase guarantee and to building schools, increasing health care, and improving infrastructure ([Hermann, 2014-a](#); [FNC, n.d.-c](#); [FNC, 2017-c](#)). This is an example of how the FNC influences media about Colombian coffee other places in the world both directly and indirectly and it is a representation of power because the FNC, through the use of symbolic and cultural capital, can influence how others imagine Colombian coffee. On the receiver side, the dissemination of representations along several flows makes it difficult for consumers to determine the credibility and agenda of the representation because there is no contradicting representation and individuals often lack the possibility to verify the information for themselves ([Appadurai, 2000](#)). When all articles have the same representation of what Colombian coffee identity is, this is also what many people will accept and create imaginaries around ([Salazar, 2011](#)).

Another example of how the FNC has influence on global mediascapes is through travel literature such as Lonely Planet. As will be demonstrated (see section 4.4), Lonely Planet is not only a sender of representations but also a receiver by being informed by e.g. UNESCO interpretations which are based on the CCLC brand created by the FNC. As such, in the Lonely Planet book about Colombia from 2015, the Coffee Region plays a prominent role and is described through the characteristics of the CCLC, influencing those who read the book before traveling to Colombia ([Egerton et al., 2015](#)). In the following section, we elaborate on these imaginaries and perceptions of Colombian coffee by defining what they consist of and analysing their effect on the construction of coffee identity. Furthermore, we investigate how space and place play a role in the construction of coffee identity.

## 4.4 Imaginaries of coffee identity

As established in the previous section, we argue that different actors have specific interests in, and ways of constructing and presenting, Colombian coffee identity. In this case, the FNC constructs it through UNESCO and different types of media, e.g. tourism literature. Salazar states that an *“imaginary is both a function of producing meanings and the product of this function”* (2011, p. 864). In the context of this thesis, we investigate imaginaries surrounding Colombian coffee identity which are produced by the FNC but simultaneously it can also be argued that the FNC constructs coffee identity based on the imaginaries which already exist, e.g. from North American, European, and other Colombian actors. In the following paragraphs, we argue for both cases in the sense that specific actors construct imaginaries while simultaneously being affected by imaginaries which already exist (Salazar, 2011).

Salazar (2011) also argues that agents constantly attempt to reproduce and recreate destinations and local citizens in the destination in order to gain as much from tourism as possible. Through the creation of the CCLC and the UNESCO listing, the FNC works to (re)construct a region and specific cultural traits which can benefit and increase tourism and attract targeted consumer groups. The FNC does so in an innovative manner because the organisation uses resources which already exist in the area and reframes them, making the resources part of a narrative which speaks into the existing imaginaries. These existing resources are both tangible and intangible, e.g. coffee farms and knowledge about coffee cultivation. The FNC influences imaginaries and use already existing spatially distant imaginaries about the experience of specialty coffee, capitalising on them through tourism (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012). The FNC is not the only actor who attempts to reinvent and recreate the destination in order to capitalise on it. So do the local tourism actors in the Coffee region, e.g. the coffee farmers and this will be addressed further in section 4.6. Through this recasting of the Coffee Region and the imaginaries which exist about the region, local traditions and traits are reframed and highlighted to fit the branding of the region. This creates a valorisation of the coffee region for both tourists and local residents as it enhances their appreciation for the traditions and traits. The valorisation is not simply created through the labelling of the region, i.e. the CCLC brand and the WHS certification, but is rather enhanced through the expressive narratives which are being told in order for the Coffee Region to be labelled. These narratives are manifested in different ways through e.g. Lonely Planet which increases the valorisation for international tourists travelling to Colombia. For local residents, the valorisation manifests itself differently, for example through e-learning courses which are offered for tour guides and local residents about the CCLC (see section 4.6) but also through the appreciation they experience from visiting tourists (Ministerio de Cultura & FNC, n.d.). In his definition of imaginaries, Salazar (2011;



2013) does not address the concepts of valorisation and the value which can be created as a result of imaginaries. The imaginaries which surround the Coffee Region, both the previously existing ones and the ones created or enhanced through the CCLC, create value for the different actors, e.g. the FNC, the local actors (farmers, tour operators, and local residents), and tourists. The value which is created is both intangible and tangible and it is visible through the increase of each group of actors' capitals. These capitals and the value created will be elaborated in section 4.5.

### **Conflicting imaginaries of coffee identity**

Throughout the previous section of the analysis, we presented different media representations of Colombian coffee identity and argued that these representations follow the same lines as the CCLC. These representations contribute to the creation of imaginaries for the reader, in this case North American or European tourists. At the same time, these representations are created by the FNC based on the organisation's research of what its target consumer is seeking, namely the origin of coffee, traditional farming, great taste, and coffee brewing (FNC, 2016). This mix of traditional coffee farming and modern brewing techniques which both are a representation of the Colombian coffee identity is also emphasised in some of the Danish articles presented in the previous section and we also observed both representations during our fieldwork. One Danish author writes that visiting a Colombian coffee farm is like entering a time machine and that you can hear the hardworking coffee growers sing traditional folk songs on their way home from a day of hard work (Harritshøj, 2014). This way of describing Colombian coffee workers creates specific imaginaries about an 'ideal past' whereas in another article the author writes about the best coffee he had in Colombia which was a cappuccino made by a skilled barista who was able to create art from the coffee foam (Olsen, 2018). This creates a different imaginary about an identity where European brewing traditions of specialty coffee play a role.

From our fieldwork, our informant Ana's choice of showing us traditional regional dance and music also reflects her emphasis on traditional aspects (Appendix 3) while the presentation of coffee given by another informant at the upscale coffee farm San Alberto reflects the inspiration from the European, specialty coffee staging (Appendix 4). Thus, both imaginaries exist simultaneously. Our Colombian informant Alejandro from the company Kaffe Bueno did not know that this culture of specialty coffee consumption existed until he went outside Colombia and he explained how this was surprising to him: "*We were studying in London with a lot of Scandinavian people [...] and we saw they were obsessed with coffee [...] They saw coffee like a god or something [...] We were surprised because we never expected that*" (Appendix 7).





*Fig. 5 Coffee cherries are handpicked due to the steepness of the fields which does not allow Colombian coffee farmers to use machines. This coffee picker works at Café Horizontes in Marsella, Risaralda (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 12 January 2018)*

### **Nostalgia of an unreal past**

Echtner and Prasad (2003, cited in Salazar, 2011) describe three myths which influence tourism imaginaries, namely the myth of the uncivilised, the myth of the unrestrained, and the myth of the unchanged. The article describing Colombian coffee identity as a travel back in time speaks into these types of myths of a civilisation being unchanged (Harritshøj, 2014). Furthermore, Salazar (2011; 2013) argues that colonial anthropological ideas of the Other have inspired many tourism imaginaries about localities which have previously been colonised. These imaginaries categorise countries and cultures in a very homogenous and static way. The FNC and UNESCO try to align with these types of imaginaries by creating a single way of characterising the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee identity through the CCLC and highlight the homogeneity of the region in terms of e.g. architecture and population characteristics. Salazar (2011) argues that imaginaries are often influenced by nostalgia for the past which people wish to experience without having to return to it. This is in line with how Appadurai (1996) describes the postmodern Western tourist who seeks nostalgia of a past without it actually being the tourist's past but simply an idea of it. This also coheres with the representations of the CCLC which focus on traditional coffee farming and way of life (FNC, 2015-a) and also how it is further represented through the mediascape. For instance, in Danish articles where the Coffee Region is described as characterised by e.g. traditional harvesting methods and farming culture (Harritshøj, 2014)

and in the travel guide Lonely Planet which aligns with the CCLC descriptions of Colombian coffee identity (Egerton et al., 2015).

### **Simultaneous development**

If we consider Massey's (cited in Sage Publications, 2013) connection between time and space, we can understand why some tourists consider traveling to another country as traveling to the past. She critiques the European and North American temporal way of thinking which views countries in a linear form of development where some countries are underdeveloped, some are developing, and others are developed. We argue that this idea of linear thinking is aligned with both Salazar's (2011) and Appadurai's (1996) arguments of people seeking nostalgia in an imagined past. If we include space into the idea of time, in the way that Massey proposes, it is possible to see that events do not occur linearly but simultaneously. Massey (cited in Sage Publications, 2013) specifically uses South America and Europe as an example, arguing that even though South America is defined as developing by some, the continent cannot be defined in those terms and it is, in fact, developing simultaneously with Europe but in its own direction. Similarly, Colombian coffee identity cannot be defined based on North American or European coffee identity as either old-fashioned or modern but develops in its own trajectory.

### **'Traditional' Colombian coffee and new consumption trends**

When we mention a traditional way of consuming coffee in Colombia, we do not mean in the sense that it is the only way it is done, thereby aligning with the homogeneity which is presented through the CCLC and UNESCO. We are aware that there are many different ways in which coffee is consumed. However, for many years Colombia has exported the majority of its coffee to other parts of the world and still does but the country now keeps a larger portion of the coffee beans because coffee is becoming a national consumer product following the lines of North American and European trends. Both the FNC and our informant Alejandro from Kaffe Bueno argue that millennial, urban Colombians are looking towards countries such as the USA and following their coffee trends, e.g. enjoying European coffee brewing methods, specialty coffee and out-of-home coffee experiences (FNC, 2016; Appendix 7). When we define 'traditional' Colombian coffee consumption, we refer to the Colombian black coffee called a *tinto* which, according to Alejandro, to most foreigners is bitter and tastes bad (Appendix 7). For young Colombian people, such as Alejandro, *tinto* is still a beverage which is consumed but now it is done alongside with other types of coffee. However, there are also people who think that *tinto* is the 'correct' way of consuming coffee in Colombia and who do not understand why there should be these new types of nearly scientific brewing methods and specialty coffees. According to Alejandro, mostly the older

generation feels this way and think that the exported type of coffee is too bland and does not have as good a taste as the *tinto* (Appendix 7). Opposite the older generation in Colombia, many foreigners do not think that *tinto* is a good cup of coffee but prefer other types. This could also be a reason for why the FNC, through UNESCO, promotes other types of coffee by arguing that a characteristic of the CCLC is the world's best mild washed coffee (FNC, 2015-a). Other types of media, e.g. Lonely Planet and Danish news articles are trying to integrate the *tinto* into the characterisation of Colombian coffee identity, some of them confirming this coffee as being the traditional Colombian coffee as Harritshøj (2014) does when he says that if you want true respect from the local farmers you have to drink *tinto*. Others, both Lonely Planet and Hermann (2014), criticise the *tinto*. Hermann argues that it is simply bad coffee and Lonely Planet writes that *"the average everyday swill, called tinto, won't please connoisseurs (or anyone else). But Colombia is slowly trying to live up to its java reputation"* (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 696). The so-called java reputation is something other than the everyday Colombian coffee consumption consisting of a *tinto*, it appears. This is perhaps because it is not aligned with the imaginary created through the CCLC about the great coffee, understood as European brews, which can also be enjoyed in the Coffee Region. Tourism imaginaries which are not confirmed once the tourist is in the destination will either be rejected or the experienced reality will be rejected and considered inauthentic (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012; Salazar, 2011). In this case, the imaginary about how Colombians consume coffee is not always aligned with the experienced reality. According to Lonely Planet (Egerton et al., 2015), Colombian people therefore need to live up to their coffee reputation in order to be aligned with the imaginaries about coffee in Colombia. These different media representations of Colombian coffee create different conceptions of what coffee identity is which in some ways clash. Through the development of imaginaries, the imaginaries will either evolve so there is a correspondence or a dissonance between the artefact (coffee) and what it represents (Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012; Salazar, 2011). The example described above shows a dissonance between the imaginary about Colombian coffee and the experience but, through the CCLC, the idea of Colombian coffee and the experienced reality are approaching one another, e.g. through the development of specialty coffee activities in Colombia. This will be further explored later in this section.

### **Ethnoscape and manifestations of coffee identity**

One reason that there are various ideas of coffee identity existing alongside each other is due to the concept of ethnoscape defined by Appadurai (1996). This refers to the flows of people happening globally. Through the movement of people, information moves along with them and so do imaginaries and cultural characteristics. An example of this was given by our Colombian informant Alejandro who, as previously mentioned, was introduced to the world

of specialty coffee in London. He was accustomed to drinking *tintos* in Colombia and was astonished by the attention given to coffee by Europeans ([Appendix 7](#)). This example shows how flows of people can be part of moving both imaginaries and different trends globally. The example can also help us to understand how Massey ([2004](#)) defines the concept of space and, in this case, we define a space around coffee. This does not mean that the coffee space is homogenous and there can be many different definitions and ideas of coffee culture and identity. However, what we call coffee space has been defined and is negotiated by actors who we have discussed so far in the analysis, namely the FNC, UNESCO, farmers, Colombian tourism actors, tourists, and different media outlets. A way in which we can understand this space is by how it manifests itself in concrete places. These manifestations happen through the ethnoscape and the imaginaries which have been created through different parallel flows over time ([Appadurai, 1996](#)). The previous example from Alejandro who lives in Denmark demonstrates this, because he, together with his new Scandinavian friends, takes part in the construction of coffee identity which he brings back to his home in Colombia.

Another example of this became clear through an interview with two Colombian tour guides in Bogotá. The specialty coffee scene has begun to establish itself in Bogotá during the last few years, according to the two Colombian full-time tour guides in the city ([Appendix 5, interview 6](#)). They explained that while the majority of Colombians only associate the *tinto* with coffee consumption, the perception of what coffee consumption can entail is starting to widen to also include French and Italian preparations of coffee and various brewing methods. The tours offered by these two guides and their colleagues are continuously adapted based on the interactions they have with foreign tourists. Therefore, while the tour guides themselves are not very physically mobile in this context, they *are* part of a global encounter with foreign tourists visiting Colombia. Before tourists began asking questions about coffee and requesting more information on the topic, the subject was not considered sufficiently relevant to be included in the tours. However, the increased interest has led the tour company to devote a substantial segment of the tour to it and now about 30 minutes of the 2-3 hour tour is concerned with coffee, part of it taking place in a coffeehouse. This example demonstrates how perceptions and understandings are interchanged in the ethnoscape as people move and come into contact with one another ([Appendix 2; Appendix 5, interview 6](#)).

Furthermore, manifestations of the coffee space are present through the work of the FNC and the way the organisation brands coffee and targets its consumers. The FNC is aware that one of its main consumer groups and tourist segments can be identified as a North American millennial who is interested in knowing specific traits of the coffee they drink (see

section 4.3). Accordingly, the FNC attempts to recast coffee identity in the Coffee Region through the CCLC brand and the stamp of recognition gained through UNESCO.

### **Imaginaries of practice - transferring cultural traits**

Another way to understand these manifestations of coffee identity in both the Coffee Region, other places in Colombia, and in the rest of the world is by including other initiatives the FNC has taken to further its agenda with reconstructing Colombian coffee identity. In line with the SWOT analysis (section 4.2) which was created by the Tourism Ministry, the FNC is working to increasingly transform Colombia into a consumption country and not only a production country. Imaginaries of practice are based on tourism imaginaries where tourists presume that a specific type of practice takes place in the same space all over the world and therefore do not see the different ways in which given practices manifests themselves in different destinations ([Gravari-Barbas & Graburn, 2012](#)). Gravari-Barbas and Graburn (2012) further argue that in international tourism where Western tourists travel to non-Western countries, there can be a transfer of Western practices in the destination countries. We argue that one reason for why the FNC is trying to reframe coffee consumption in Colombia is because they see an opportunity to use the North American and European imaginaries about coffee in Colombia to reframe a Colombian coffee identity and become more competitive ([FNC, 2016](#)). For many e.g. European tourists, coffee consumption relates to the specialty coffee which exists in Europe and this creates an imaginary about how coffee is elsewhere in the world. The FNC exploits these expectations through e.g. Juan Valdez which is an international coffee chain created by the FNC where the coffee sold aligns with North American and European coffee trends.

### **Two lines of imaginaries**

Throughout this section of the analysis, we have discussed different types of imaginaries about Colombian coffee identity and we identified those actors who are part of creating imaginaries and who are simultaneously affected by the imaginaries which already exist. This has led to different types of imaginaries about coffee identity and two specific lines of identities about Colombian coffee identity developed. We call these two different types of identities the traditional and the modern. That does not mean that one is older than the other or that one is more developed but we use these words as they align with the imaginaries about Colombian coffee and the way coffee identity is constructed and reconstructed by actors such as the FNC and UNESCO. Through the CCLC brand and the UNESCO listing, the FNC promotes Colombian coffee in a certain way to attract tourists and coffee consumers. Through research, the organisation has identified its target group and aims to promote coffee directly to them ([FNC, 2016](#)). The CCLC is thus promoted as both traditional



through authentic crafts and authentic coffee growing which represents one line of imaginary and at the same time it highlights the tastes of specialty coffee which in fact is a newer consumer product in Colombia and represents the other imaginary. These two identities or imaginaries are able to exist simultaneously because they are both presented as being part of the Colombian coffee tradition which relates to the concept of imaginary of practices where Gravari-Barbas and Grabum (2012) argue that through tourism and the imaginaries held by tourists, some of these imaginaries are transferred into the destination and become part of it. In this case, we argue that European coffee traditions and North American and European consumption trends have been introduced into Colombia both through the tourists and other consumers but mainly because the FNC has taken these trends and utilised them to construct and renegotiate Colombian coffee identity. Another way to understand how these two lines of imaginaries can exist simultaneously is through Massey's (cited in Sage Publications, 2013) idea of space and time. This concept can be used to explain how coffee consumption does not follow a single line of development where Colombian coffee consumption 'catches' up to other ways of consuming coffee but that these different ways of understanding coffee identity exist parallel to one another.



*Fig. 6 The tinto known by most Colombians is made from low-quality coffee known as pasilla which is traded in the village of Marsella (left). A representative of the newly arrived specialty coffee is San Alberto, an upscale coffee farm in Buena Vista, Quindío (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 13-16 January 2018)*



To demonstrate how the FNC has managed to create and disperse a new imaginary about Colombian coffee identity, the following paragraph is a comparative analysis of the Lonely Planet guidebooks before and after the CCLC became UNESCO World Heritage in 2011. The dramatic changes in emphasis on and framing of coffee is a testament to how well the new imaginary is catching on.

### **Demonstrating the power of UNESCO through Lonely Planet travel guides**

Similarly to UNESCO, travel guides provide reassurance to postmodern consumers. In the search of creating the most unique and authentic trip, many travellers use guide books to plan their travels beforehand and during the trip. The guide books describe, for instance, geographical, demographic, historical, and cultural features of a country as well as propose itineraries and prioritised lists of sights and experiences. By nature, guide books frame countries as destinations ready for touristic consumption by characterising, defining, zoning, and valuing the country and the various elements comprising it. Many travellers highly value the assistance offered by guidebooks because they provide both reassurance through authority of expertise and of mass following ([Bauman, 1991](#)). The authority of expertise is established by the recognition given to travel guides who are often written by journalists or someone who has spent a considerable amount of time in the given country - individuals who can claim some form of expert status. It is noteworthy, however, that the authors are rarely residents and even more rarely nationals of the country in question which inevitably influences their interpretation of it ([Porup et al., 2009](#); [Egerton et al., 2015](#)). In spite of this, one of the most important guide books, Lonely Planet, has such a loyal following that it is sometimes referred to as 'the Bible' ([Welk, 2008](#)). Its massive audience provides it with authority of mass following when agents look to one another and are reassured by seeing other travellers also using guide books as their point of reference. These two forms of authority combined give travel guides power in the form of institutional cultural capital and symbolic capital. This type of capital provides them with the ability to define, frame, and value the destination because their perceived lack of bias makes them appear credible to many consumers.

In this thesis, we draw in the Lonely Planet guide books as an example of how the FNC has managed to establish a new narrative about the Coffee Region and disperse it through the mediascape. The FNC and the Colombian Tourism Ministry gained WHS status for the Coffee Region in 2011 and we investigate how the UNESCO certification of the CCLC influences the Lonely Planet interpretation and framing of the region which, in turn, reaches a large global audience.

*“It has surprisingly little to do with coffee”*

Before the WHS certification in 2011, Lonely Planet (Porup et al., 2009) defined the Coffee Region as the three cities of Pereira, Manizales, and Armenia. In the introductory description, a single sentence is dedicated to the region's coffee production and coffee farms which offer tours. The remaining introduction highlights the natural beauty and the nightlife in the area as the main points of touristic interest and this interpretation is repeated in the descriptions of the most important cities in the region, such as Manizales: *“The real attractions are the surrounding nature activities and the town's popping nightlife”* (Porup et al., 2009, p. 491).

In spite of the fact that, for many tourists, Salento is the only town they visit in the Coffee Region (Appendix 5), coffee production is only mentioned once in the Lonely Planet description of the town which demonstrates that natural attractions such as the nearby Cocora Valley rank much higher. Overall, the characterisation of the Coffee Region has a very limited focus on coffee. Apart from a few references to commercial activities concerned with coffee production as well as a brief description of the *Parque Nacional del Café* (National Coffee Park) which *“has surprisingly little to do with coffee”* (Porup et al., 2009, p. 530), coffee is hardly mentioned in the section concerning the *Zona Cafetera* (Coffee Region).

*“Here you'll find jeeps packed with mustachioed coffee pickers; poncho-wearing senior citizens gossiping in cafes; and, of course, endless cups of piping hot arabica”*

The above phrase is a quote from the 2015 Lonely Planet edition (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 458) which sums up well the overall framing of the region after the 2011 WHS certification. The characterisation of the region in 2015, four years after the WHS certification, is quite different from that of 2009. The references to coffee and related cultural aspects have increased significantly in both scope and detail. As such, visiting coffee farms is highlighted as one of 21 *“Top Experiences”* in Colombia (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 34), a two-week itinerary for the *Zona Cafetera* is proposed (Egerton et al., 2015), and Salento is now characterised as *“coffee crazy, [...] full of quaint charm and typical bahareque (adobe and reed) architecture”* (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 71). The small touristic town next to Salento, Filandia, is also included with its own section in the 2015 edition which is another testament to the increased relative importance given to the Coffee Region by Lonely Planet.

A general difference between the characterisations of the region in 2009 and 2015, respectively, is the assessed cultural importance of coffee and the acknowledgement of the cultural features related to coffee production in the area. For instance, the WWII jeeps used by many coffee farmers to transport both goods and people are not mentioned in the 2009

edition which also applies to the architecture of the region. Both elements are highlighted several times in the 2015 edition (Egerton et al., 2015, pp. 71, 490) and are also presented as integral parts of the coffee cultural identity in the textual material presented to UNESCO by the FNC in relation to the WHS certification (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). This suggests a correlation between UNESCO-certified FNC framings and Lonely Planet framings. Other features highlighted in UNESCO material as essential in the Coffee Region and not presented by Lonely Planet until after the 2011 WHS certification are the hardworking spirit of the rural population (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 34), the richness of the regional culture (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 91), and the importance of coffee in all aspects of life: “Coffee is more than a cash crop here – it is a way of life” (Egerton et al., 2015, p. 414).



*Fig. 7 One of the elements highlighted by Lonely Planet after 2011 is the Jeeps Willys, a popular vehicle in the Coffee Region. This jeep is on display in the National Coffee Park in Quindío (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 17 January 2018)*

The new coffee imaginary promoted by the FNC is clearly present in the travel guide after the WHS certification and the mass following which Lonely Planet has makes it a very efficient vehicle to disperse and establish the new imaginary to a wide audience of Western millennials traveling to Colombia.

The next part of the analysis investigates how this imaginary is physically manifested in the Coffee Region to confirm (or disconfirm) the imaginary once travellers arrive to the Coffee Region with these given expectations in mind.

## 4.5 Selecting, constructing and commodifying coffee identity imaginaries

As demonstrated in the previous section of the analysis, a number of imaginaries about coffee identity and the Coffee Region exists. This section analyses how the FNC has managed to select parts of the imaginaries, thereby constructing new ones, and freezing these new imaginaries by commodifying them.

### **Mixing and commodifying old and new imaginaries to create a new Coffee Region**

As Cohen (1988) writes, authenticity is a negotiated and social construct, often related with primitivity. The Colombian actors endow contemporary elements with authenticity by mixing them with old elements. By combining elements from various imaginaries about both traditional and contemporary characteristics of coffee identity, the FNC and Tourism Ministry renegotiate what authentic Colombian Coffee Region identity is. By creating both Juan Valdez to reflect current North American and European coffee consumption trends and the CCLC to reflect traditional elements such as manual farming, nuclear family life, and artefacts such as colonial architecture and the land ownership system, the FNC has integrated parts of various imaginaries. In the UNESCO material, the CCLC is characterised with emphasis on the continuation of a long, static, and homogenous process as *“an authentic reflection of a centenary process of man’s adaptation to challenging geographical and climatic conditions”* with *“very few contemporary incongruous additions to its traditional architectural and landscape patterns, and no substantial modifications to the small towns”* (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, n.d.-a). Further elements highlighted as essential to the identity of the region are e.g. the building materials such as a local sort of bamboo and mud roof tiles, the spirit of collectivity, music and dances, regional gastronomy, and the coffee organisations (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The population of the region is part of the CCLC brand, as well, with the FNC and Tourism Ministry citing authors who state that *“a love for work, business-mindedness, fearlessness, independence and audacity”* are symbols of the regional identity (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). This correlates with Everett’s notion of the *“retention of idealistic rural identities”* (2012, p. 550) where tourism actors stage a more rural and simple reality than is the actual case. As mentioned, the Juan Valdez brand is also central to the FNC and constitutes *“the primary image of Colombian coffee culture for the world”* (FNC, n.d.-b). The brand, like the CCLC, integrates both the image of the hardworking coffee producing farmer and his mule as well as the Western way of consuming specialty coffee. With the rural connotation of the Juan Valdez character, the brand also assists in conveying ideas of rural identities. The accomplishment of disseminating the

values related to the Juan Valdez character is seen through e.g. a Danish article describing that he “*represents everything the Colombians are proud of. Juan Valdez is the working and honest coffee farmer*” (Hermann, 2014-a).

According to Trotter (2000, cited in Prideaux, 2003), heritage is produced out of contemporary interests and this helps explain why the FNC is interested in constructing Colombian coffee identity in a certain way. Redefining Colombian coffee identity to include specialty coffee consumption alongside the production of coffee creates images and a reputation which the FNC knows will gain attention internationally due to the previously discussed imaginaries surrounding Colombian coffee. Juan Valdez has become an internationally recognised coffee chain which over the past years has spread throughout the world with locations in North America, South America, East Asia, and the Middle East (FNC, n.d.-a; Hermann, 2014-a). By having the coffee chain present in so many parts of the world, the FNC also makes sure there is a visual representation of what Colombian coffee is. Another way in which the FNC has worked over the years to construct and redefine Colombian coffee identity is by changing Colombian actors' role from only exporting coffee beans to also focusing on the way coffee is brewed and consumed. Over the last years, the FNC has educated people in working as baristas and has held competitions in brewing coffee using various techniques and recognising the tastes of what is perceived as good coffee in other places of the world (FNC, 2017-a). The competitions and barista training are part of the objective of being able to serve specialty coffee to tourists in the CCLC and the competitions are also part of creating a consumption culture and brand. Not only for foreign tourists but also for North American and European millennials and a new market segment, namely the Colombian millennials. Millennials (both foreign and national) want high quality and more information about the products. They are also willing to pay higher prices for the added value in the form of personalisation and extraordinary experiences (FNC, 2014). The barista competitions also demonstrate the power of the FNC because the organisation is able to define how a good cup of coffee should be brewed and taste (Appendix 7). The reframing of coffee consumption and the centrality of it to Colombians is related to what Prideaux (2003) says about the filter of contemporary culture which makes the past more interesting. Thus, the reframing aims to present Colombians as dedicated to drinking specialty coffee because it coheres well with the imagined past.

According to the Tourism Ministry's SWOT analysis (FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014), international tourists are interested in Colombian coffee identity understood as a place where they can get great coffee (that is, the Colombian specialty coffee they are accustomed to). MacCannell (1973) argues that creating a believable front stage to make tourists think they are back stage is necessary for some tourism experiences. However, this



replica of the back stage is often not a copy of the actual back stage but "[discloses] more about the real thing the the real thing itself" (MacCannell, 1973, pp. 598-699). By expanding coffee identity in Colombia to also include specialty coffee consumption and not only production, the FNC is creating a reality to accommodate e.g. tourists' imaginaries about Colombian coffee. This is happening in spite of several sources reporting that Colombians do not traditionally drink much coffee, let alone other preparations of coffee than *tinto*. For instance, one of the tour guides in Bogotá elaborated on this as did our informant Alejandro, the owner of Kaffé Bueno, and our informant from the coffee farm in Marsella who all stated that aside from the upper classes, most Colombians have no specific awareness of a specialty coffee consumption culture. And the upper classes who are beginning to consume specialty coffee have started doing so recently (Appendix 3; Appendix 5, interview 6; Appendix 7). Through the creation of this new back stage, the FNC has constructed and redefined Colombian coffee identity. The CCLC and WHS certification invite tourists to experience the new Colombian coffee identity which is defined as "*a thousand experiences, one destiny [...] having great adventures in unique places, enjoying its unique nature and landscape, learning about the region's authentic crafts, and flavoring the culture of the world's best mild washed coffee*" (FNC, 2015-a). Our Colombian informant Alejandro from Kaffé Bueno, however, believes that the FNC is trying to show a different reality than what most Colombian farmers know and states that it is "sort of like a mask of telling them [foreigners]: 'This is all perfect'. But it is not" (Appendix 7).



Fig. 8 The similarity between Juan Valdez and North American coffee shops does not go unnoticed. Here, the logos of Colombian Juan Valdez and US Starbucks are combined in a street in Bogotá (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 7 January 2018)



## **Freezing the new imaginary of the Coffee Region through authentication and heritagisation**

Daugstad and Kirchengast (2013) define the process of heritagisation as an attempt to freeze specific constellations of time and space which we argue is aligned with the general purpose of UNESCO. However, this does not take into account the constructed and designed nature of the project nominated as the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia relying on the new coffee imaginary. Thus, the constellation of time and space has been modified somewhat before being frozen. This is what the FNC is trying to do through its creation of the CCLC and the WHS status of the Coffee Region. However, it does not cohere with how the region actually is because the static and homogeneous coffee identity which UNESCO and the FNC are trying to frame and freeze does not exist as such in the physical place, as will be argued in section 4.6. This follows the argument of both Massey (1994) and Rakić and Chambers (2012) who argue that a place is not static but dynamic and is constructed through social and cultural practices.

According to Prideaux (2003), commodifying heritage happens through a process of enhancing the attractiveness of the site and making it marketable before offering it for touristic consumption which is what the FNC has done by creating the CCLC. The empirical findings show that heritage is not necessarily only about freezing time and space but first creating constellations, such as reconstructing Colombian coffee identity, before it becomes heritage and thus frozen in time and space (FNC, 2011; UNESCO, n.d.-a). This follows the arguments by Bendix (1989) who maintains that heritage and tradition are defined in the present as well as Barenholdt and Granas (2008) who state that place is not constructed solely through cultural and social practices but is also influenced by political and economic interests. As such, the FNC has created the brand CCLC as a way to operationalise and redefine Colombian coffee identity and for it to achieve WHS status, an objective which increases both the economic and symbolic capital of the organisation.

Trotter's (2000, cited in Prideaux, 2003) argumentation that heritage is produced out of contemporary interests is also characteristic of the case study since the CCLC is part of the FNC's strategic plan to position itself in the global market and a way to become the leading country within coffee tourism. Therefore, the CCLC is also created out of interest for the FNC and not only to ensure the preservation of specific sites (FONTUR & MINCIT, 2014; FNC, 2015-a; FNC, 2016).

For UNESCO, increasing the number of WHS inscriptions expands the area of influence of the organisation. On the other hand, the CCLC is a brand strategy created by the FNC as part of the effort to get the Coffee Region enlisted with UNESCO. The purpose of the CCLC is thus to function as a brand representing Colombian coffee and as a tourism platform

(FNC, 2015-a). One way the FNC works to achieve global recognition is through UNESCO and the CCLC by getting the internationally recognised stamp of WHS to improve its tourism brand, thus providing cool authentication and expert reassurance. As seen from Prideaux (2003), some of the purposes of creating heritage can be to boost tourism or to alter national self-perceptions. In relation to that, the FNC works to shift Colombia from being a country mostly focused on the tradition of producing coffee to also encompassing a more extensive coffee consumption culture. By doing this, the FNC can expand its market to not only exporting coffee but also increasingly selling it within Colombia and creating a market for specialty coffee consumption which caters to a new market segment, namely the millennial Colombian consumers (FNC, 2016).

The value which the FNC has created as a result of valorising the imaginaries around coffee is based in the negotiation and increase of the Colombian actors' capitals. The FNC has used its institutional cultural capital and symbolic capital to position itself. Through the relation with the Tourism Ministry and UNESCO, the FNC increases its symbolic capital and becomes a central broker in coffee tourism. The value creation lies in both increased symbolic power and economic capital for the FNC due to increased coffee consumption and increased cultural and economic capital for coffee tourism actors such as farmers and guides due to increased regional pride, tourist numbers, and opportunities to e.g. expand farms to receive visitors. The success of the CCLC and recasting of Colombian coffee identity is thus contingent upon the FNC's positioning and ability to reach its targeted audiences through e.g. media such as Lonely Planet.

### **Homogenisation of heritage in a dynamic region**

Salazar (2011) criticises heritage tourism and argues that tourism and tourism operators often work on the basis of a long-discarded anthropological viewpoint, namely that cultures are homogenous and static. The CCLC is created on the premise that Colombian coffee identity in the Coffee Region can be described in one, homogenous way which the entire region, both coffee farmers and tour operators, complies with (FNC, 2015-a; Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The FNC has ownership of the CCLC brand and decides who can use it and in what way. As previously mentioned, the FNC has authorised several of the local chambers of commerce in the Coffee Region to use the CCLC brand as a way to encourage tourism (FNC, 2015-a). This example shows the power which the FNC, along with UNESCO, has over the construction of the Coffee Region.

However, this does not mean that coffee farmers and other tourism actors living in the area are interested in working within these frames. UNESCO is created in a North American/European context and the idea of world heritage is an idea which started in the

USA ([UNESCO, n.d.-b](#)). Further, you might discuss how the WHS status sought by the FNC leadership affects its individual members and other residents in the certified areas. As the representative of a large network, the FNC holds the social capital necessary to define the CCLC. However, it is the people living in the region (some of whom are also members of the FNC) whose identity, way of life, family structure and values, architecture, arts, agricultural methods, and more which are defined in the CCLC brand and determined as worthy of preservation, preferably without contemporary additions and modifications ([Zapata & Ortega, 2010](#)). The only modification desired by the FNC is the one which the organisation itself has included, namely increased specialty coffee consumption.

### **The danger of commodifying culture**

According to Prideaux ([2003](#)), there is a danger when commodifying culture and heritage. He argues that heritage can end up being reduced to a commercial product and the culture can lose its meaning to the locals. An example of this is the sentiment shared by our informant Alejandro who explained that the older generation in Colombia does not understand why people have started drinking speciality coffee ([Appendix 7](#)). This argument is shared with two Colombian tour guides from Bogotá. They explained that coffee is an integral part of Colombian everyday practice but only the black low quality coffee called *tinto* because all the good quality beans are exported ([Appendix 5](#)). The French and Italian coffee traditions are new and becoming popular in the Colombian upper classes and with the millennials, making *tinto* a drink for the lower classes rather than the Colombian way of drinking coffee. However, it can also be argued that simply because something is claimed to be heritage and is reframed as a commercial product, it does not necessarily entail a loss of cultural meaning. Following the argument of Massey ([2013, cited in Sage Publications](#)) and her concept of space and time, we argue that different ideas of coffee identity can exist simultaneously and reframing the identity for commodification does not necessarily mean that it replaces other understandings of identities.

Aside from Prideaux's ([2003](#)) argument that commodification of heritage can mean loss of culture, as just discussed, there are also other potential issues with commodification. While commodifying culture does not necessarily entail a loss of culture, another consequence can be cultural stagnation which can happen by claiming a site to be heritage. The Coffee region of Colombia has been claimed world heritage by UNESCO due to different factors, such as the way the farmers cultivate coffee and the architecture of some of the buildings. Making changes could mean a loss of the elements which make it heritage, entailing that UNESCO could potentially remove the certification. This means that people living in the area and people who cultivate coffee could be hindered in changing or developing in the direction they

want because their lifestyles become 'frozen' in the commodification, a process also referred to as museumisation (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Daugstad & Kirchengast, 2013). However, in the case of the Coffee Region, many CCLC heritage elements are, in fact, not physically manifested for touristic consumption, as will be elaborated upon in Section 4.6, and thus have less risk of being museumised.

## 4.6 Physically manifesting a new imaginary

From our fieldwork in Marsella, Armenia, Buena Vista, Salento, and Filandia in the Coffee Region, we experienced various perceptions of coffee. Some very much in line with the new FNC coffee imaginary and some discrepancies which underpin our argument that the homogeneity of the region is not as established as the FNC and UNESCO claim. As such, not all coffee tourism actors strictly adhere to or identify with the imaginary and some have their own way of presenting Colombian coffee identity. This is in line with Massey's (2004) understanding of space and place in the sense that the global coffee space can manifest itself differently in different places. It also demonstrates the various actors' agency and resistance towards power strategies that they find ways to work around the overall CCLC framework which de Certeau (1984) calls the use of tactics.

The elements characterising the CCLC vary in nature and some are easy to pinpoint while others are more implicit and perhaps less distinctive seen from a tourist perspective. The implicit ones (which do have the potential of being made explicit) are e.g. smallholdings as the system of land ownership, the average age of the coffee plantations, an intangible but essential link between people and coffee, the hardworking and dedicated spirit of the population whose social lives revolve around family, and coffee institutions and networks. On the other hand, the more easily-spotted elements are e.g. the architectural style incorporating both Spanish and indigenous influence as well as being adapted to coffee cultivation, the use of a special sombrero and shoulder bag, music, food, and the influence of modernisation (Zapata & Ortega, 2010).

Some elements of the CCLC are very visible for both tourists and locals to identify. For instance, the architectural style with carved woodwork and colourful details can be witnessed in both Marsella, Salento, and Filandia where it characterises almost all houses and by visiting a few towns it is easily identified as characteristic of the region (Appendix 3; Appendix 4). Another marker of the CCLC is the centrality of coffee cultivation to farmers and the attention to detail along the various steps of the process. This focus on cultivating the plants with care is the central element in most tours of coffee farms, including those

offered in Bogotá and Medellín as well as the one outside of Salento where Theresa performed participant observation. The tour lasted 1,5 hours and consisted of an introduction to the various growth stages of the coffee plant, a quick harvest of a few coffee cherries, removing the pulp, being told about the roasting and brewing process, and lastly, tasting a cup of coffee ([Appendix 2](#); [Appendix 4](#)). These two elements of the CCLC, architecture and cultivation, are thus physically manifested and readily available for touristic consumption in the Coffee Region, thus confirming the imaginary.



*Fig. 9 The various growth stages of the coffee plants are given great attention and constitutes the main focus of many touristic coffee tours. These plants are from Café Horizontes in Marsella, Risaralda ([Schaltz, fieldnotes, 12 January 2018](#))*

### **What about the remaining CCLC characteristics?**

While information about and experiences related to architecture and cultivation are part of the touristic offer of the Coffee Region, many other elements outlined in the CCLC as defining for the region are not available to tourists. Of course, increasing tourism is not necessarily the only objective related to gaining WHS status but must be considered an important one and is also mentioned by the FNC as part of a tourism strategy and as one of the focus areas where new work has been initiated on the basis of the WHS certification, e.g. e-learning courses directed at tour operators in the region, printed marketing material to inform and educate about the CCLC, virtual tours for tour operators, a regional visitor centre in Caldas, and university programmes to educate urban populations about the importance of



the various aspects of the CCLC ([Ministerio de Cultura & FNC, n.d.](#)). As such, with all of the educational and informative initiatives which the FNC has started, it can be considered a priority for the FNC to increase tourism and enhance people's appreciation for the region.

During our fieldwork, we spent four days in Salento which is the most popular destination in the Coffee Region and the town is therefore a touchpoint with many foreign tourists ([Appendix 5](#)). However, the only coffee-related activities are coffee tours such as the one described previously which only focus on the cultivation and bean-to-cup process ([Appendix 4](#)). Aside from traditional architecture, none of the other elements of the CCLC imaginary are present, e.g. cultural, folkloristic, historic, and societal aspects, including modern coffee houses such as those beginning to appear in other cities ([Appendix 2](#); [Appendix 4](#)). This means that the imaginary is only physically manifested in a rather limited way.

Another example from the fieldwork is our observations from the National Coffee Park which was created by the FNC in 1995 ([FNC, 2015-b](#)). Here, we observed a framing of coffee which can overall be summarised as coffee being an integral part of the history of the region but now functioning as an important export good ([Appendix 4](#)). It is not presented as forming part of contemporary Colombian culture, except perhaps in the form of the Juan Valdez coffee shops and the everyday practice of drinking *tinto*, where previously coffee influenced all aspects of people's life and culture, e.g. art, daily rhythm, and relationships. The exhibition in the Coffee Museum in the Park presents the history of Colombian coffee from small rural farms to a worldwide export adventure handled by professional large actors with the FNC playing a central role. This framing is repeated in the very popular Coffee Show in the Park which emphasises the history of the hardworking, common people, their customs, and the development of coffee identity into a present-day large-scale, industrial export business.

The fact that many coffee tourism attractions tell different coffee narratives than the UNESCO-certified one can be a sign of various things, e.g. a disregard for the WHS status, a different perception of contemporary Colombian coffee identity, or actors having a different purpose with the framing.

The Coffee Park mainly attracts a Colombian audience ([Appendix 4](#)) and presents many of the elements also identified in the CCLC as being characteristic of the Coffee Region. However, it is with a backward-looking perspective, like these things are elements of the past and the current significance of coffee is as an agricultural commodity. This perception of coffee is also reflected in Colombian tourists' very limited interest in the coffee related attractions such as the museum. It is noteworthy that the historic and folkloric elements are directed at and attract a national audience to e.g. the Coffee Show while they are not shown



to foreign tourists visiting e.g. Salento. Concerning this type of framing, our Colombian informant from Kaffe Bueno, Alejandro, says that, *“it is probably because Colombian people or at least the Colombian people that have not been outside Colombia, they think of foreigners as like elegant and exclusive and [...] they see the Colombian stuff that is super folkloric may need to be hidden”* (Appendix 7).

The experience we had at another coffee tourism establishment, namely the coffee farm San Alberto, confirms this interpretation that some Colombian tourism actors prefer to present the folkloric aspects to the Colombian audience only. Our guide at the farm, also named Alejandro, commented while driving past RECUCO (*Recorrido Cultural Cafetero*), a touristic coffee farm in Quindío that receives a lot of tour groups, that the farm emphasises folklore and history which Alejandro clearly did not like and considered less exclusive and interesting to us as foreign visitors (Appendix 4).



*Fig. 10 Folkloric and historic elements such as dancing are often reserved for Colombian audiences. Here, local dancers have just performed a few regional dances for us, organised by our contact in Marsella, Risaralda* (Schaltz, fieldnotes, 13 January 2018)

The San Alberto coffee farm has a very different approach to framing coffee compared to the National Coffee Park, incorporating only one of the CCLC elements and the imaginary that goes with it, namely specialty coffee (Appendix 4). San Alberto frames coffee as a specialty luxury product by offering many types of coffee preparations made by trained baristas as well as seven touristic experiences inspired by French wine tastings. The tours include

coffee tastings in the on-site laboratory and visitors are given a personal coffee tasting diary with descriptions of the taste sense, the various aroma families and room to describe the aroma, fragrance, and taste of two different cups of coffee. The result is an almost scientific experience. In 2017, 80 % of the tourists going on the tours were foreigners mostly from Europe, Canada and the United States while 80 % of the customers only visiting the adjoining café were Colombians. The fact that the specialised tours with tastings etc. appeal mainly to North Americans and Europeans is likely to both reflect the price level of the tours and the perception of coffee as either an agricultural commodity or as a luxury consumption good.

The framing of coffee as part of an industrialised, large-scale business is the opposite of several of the CCLC criteria for authentic Colombian coffee culture, e.g. smallholdings as the system of land ownership and, especially, a limited influence of modernisation (Zapata & Ortega, 2010). The CCLC focus on the special bond between the common people and coffee cultivation is not demonstrated in the case of San Alberto either, as the organisation is a large, professionally run business. Thus, San Alberto creates a very different imaginary about coffee culture and confirms Massey's (2004) notion that a single global space, in this case of coffee, can manifest itself in different ways in different places. San Alberto resists part of the CCLC imaginary about what authentic Colombian coffee identity is and aims to provide as modernised a coffee experience as possible, highlighting exclusivity rather than the common farmers. Its products are directed primarily towards foreigners and wealthy Colombians. For comparison, the cheapest cup of *tinto* in most small cafés costs 600 pesos while a black coffee at the San Alberto café costs 3,000 pesos. As such, San Alberto monetises on the added value and caters, among other segments, to the millennial segment previously identified.

### **Resisting power strategies in the Coffee Region**

From these fieldwork examples, we have demonstrated the discrepancies between the supposed homogeneity presented as important to achieve WHS status and the different manifestations of Colombian coffee identity imaginaries in the Coffee Region. Using de Certeau's (1984) concept of strategies and tactics can help analyse these discrepancies in showing that although two important governing bodies in the Coffee Region (the FNC and the Tourism Ministry) have created a strategy for the place in the form of the CCLC, other actors can resist this use of power by creating tactics. San Alberto is an example of an actor who has created a coffee place which in many ways is contrary to the one intended by the CCLC strategy and in this way uses its agency to create a tactic to circumvent the strategy imposed on the region.

## **Creating tourism development through the use of existing elements and strategic positioning**

Through the last section, we have analysed how the CCLC brand is physically manifested in the Coffee Region and identified that many of the CCLC characteristics are not physically present in the region as part of the tourism offer. The FNC does not focus on physically implementing the CCLC in the Coffee Region but does attempt to ground the CCLC narrative through the mentioned courses etc. However, the organisation primarily works to promote it upwards to the Colombian state and global organisations as well as outwards to international tourists. This is done through channels such as the Tourism Ministry, UNESCO, and Lonely Planet. The reason why the FNC focuses the CCLC promotion in this way is that it appeals to the North American and European tourists who form part of the group which the FNC is interested in. As discussed in section 4.4, the FNC reframes the Coffee Region by using the existing resources and creating new narratives around them. This reframing gains legitimacy due to the way the FNC has positioned itself through its capitals. The way in which the FNC positions itself in relation to the Tourism Ministry means that the organisation can gain access to UNESCO and promote the CCLC through new sources such as Lonely Planet. Even though the reframing is not very physically manifested in the Coffee Region, the reframing of coffee identity still increases local actors', both farmers and tourism workers, capitals through e.g. an increase in tourism.

The FNC's use of existing resources to create a tourism brand is an innovative way of creating regional development. Often, historical resources are employed or new resources are invented to foster tourism development. However, in this case existing resources are recasted and employed which also creates the opportunity for local actors to participate in tourism work, e.g. by receiving visitors on their farms, giving them the opportunity to increase their capitals as stated in section 4.5. One example of the reframing of coffee identity which is visible in the Coffee Region is seen at the coffee farm San Alberto. Here, the tourism product includes experiencing the exclusive part of coffee production and consumption where specialty coffee and brewing methods are central for the experience. The farm is a third generation family business where some of the younger family members have studied in France. While in France, they became inspired by the framing of wine and especially wine tastings which is also the inspiration for the way they now run their tours. They wish to give people the exclusive experience of a wine tasting but with coffee instead ([Appendix 4](#)). This physical manifestation of the reframed coffee identity is in line with the element of the CCLC brand consisting of specialty coffee but through our fieldwork, we learned that their inspiration does not come from the CCLC but rather from their own experiences with European trends. This further supports the argument that the CCLC is not

very physically manifested in the Coffee Region and, even in the cases where there is a strong alignment between coffee tourism places and CCLC elements, the reason for this can be found outside the CCLC, e.g. in foreign inspiration of how other consumption products are marketed. The CCLC exists to attract international tourists and, as already established, this is done through sources such as UNESCO and travel literature and not through physical manifestations. This type of promotion brands the Coffee Region and attracts tourism but the place cannot necessarily live up to its reputation once tourists arrive, as some of our data indicates could be an issue ([Appendix 4](#)). As such, some tourists stated that a “1,5 hour tour [felt] like 3 hours” ([Appendix 5, interview 9](#)) because it was so disappointing.

This misalignment can create issues in terms of the long term sustainability of tourism development due to e.g. low visitor return rate and the sustainability of the FNC’s approach could be investigated in future research. However, the CCLC brand is working successfully in the way it is intended by the FNC because the organisation has been able to create and mix imaginaries and reach its target segment through flows of media and people, thereby achieving its goal of reframing Colombian coffee identity.

## 5 Conclusion

The purpose of this research project has been to investigate the research question: *How is the construction of place identity in the Colombian Coffee Region influenced by the negotiation of coffee space?* The research has been carried out through an operationalisation of the research question into three research aims which highlight different aspects. The methodological approach has been based in a social constructivist standpoint and context-sensitive data collection during three weeks of fieldwork in the Coffee Region in Colombia during January, 2018. The theoretical framework comprised theories regarding heritage tourism, space and place, imaginaries, authenticity, power, mobility, and postmodernity in order to nuance the analysis and provide insights to the research question.

### Findings

The purpose of the first research aim was to analyse which actors construct the Coffee Region and Colombian coffee identity through the negotiation of which capitals. We first identified the relevant actors to answer this question, namely the Colombian Tourism Ministry, the Colombian Coffee Growers' Federation (FNC), and non-institutional actors, in this case coffee farmers and various tourism workers in the Coffee Region. The main capitals which have been discussed are symbolic capital and different forms of cultural capital, namely embodied, institutionalised, and objectified cultural capital. Through the use of symbolic and cultural capital, the FNC has been able to form a relation with the Tourism Ministry. The FNC has identified tourism as an opportunity to increase its economic and cultural capital and has further identified UNESCO as a tool to reframe the identity of the Coffee Region with the aim of increasing tourism. The FNC is able to achieve WHS status for the Coffee Region through its bridging social capital with the Tourism Ministry which allows the FNC to employ the symbolic capital of the Ministry in order to achieve WHS status for the Coffee Region. The FNC and Tourism Ministry are able to set out guidelines due to their symbolic and institutionalised cultural capital because they are recognised as being legitimate. On the other hand, tourism actors working with coffee tourism use their embodied and objectified cultural capital as well as their social capital to negotiate their position in relation to the FNC and Tourism Ministry and thereby influence the construction of coffee identity.

The negotiation of capitals has resulted in the creation and certification of the CCLC as part of the reconstruction of coffee identity. The WHS certification presents opportunities for both the FNC to further increase its cultural and symbolic capital and for other tourism actors to increase their cultural and economic capital. The new element of specialty coffee also



presents an opportunity for both the FNC and farmers to increase their economic capital due to the new market opportunities and, further, to increase their symbolic capital because they are identified with a specific type of consumption culture. However, the creation of the CCLC also demonstrates the power relation between the FNC and tourism actors in the Coffee Region as the creation of the CCLC and influence from UNESCO has enhanced the mobility of the FNC but limited the mobility of other actors in the Coffee Region, e.g. limited their ability to define their own narrative about coffee identity. Through the mediascape, the FNC succeeds in disseminating its narrative of Colombian coffee identity globally. Through different media outlets, we have been able to define different imaginaries about Colombian coffee.

This leads to the second research aim where we have discussed which imaginaries influence the construction of coffee identity in the Coffee Region. By identifying imaginaries about Colombian coffee, the FNC has managed to use these imaginaries as market opportunities by incorporating them into the CCLC. The FNC attempts to reframe the Coffee Region in order to promote it to specific consumer groups and tourists and the organisation does so in an innovative way by creating new narratives around existing resources, thus widening the scope of Colombian coffee identity. One imaginary which is promoted in the CCLC emphasises tradition, agriculture, architecture, authentic arts and crafts, and is inspired by the notion of an ideal past. Another imaginary which is present in the CCLC is that of specialty coffee which is inspired by a market opportunity identified by the FNC. The FNC has managed to valorise both the imaginary of the homogenous, static Coffee Region and that of the dynamic, modern one. The valorisation of the imaginaries creates value through the increase of capitals for both tourists, local residents, and tourism actors. The various actors' perception of the Coffee Region is not as homogenous and static as the FNC and UNESCO portray it. By considering Massey's notion of time and space, it is possible to understand that the way in which coffee identity develops is not in a linear manner where one type of identity replaces the other but in fact several understandings and experiences of coffee identity can exist at once and develop in different directions. This also helps us to understand how several imaginaries about Colombian coffee can exist at once. Through the concept of ethnoscape, we can see how cultural traits, trends, and imaginaries move through the flows of people. In continuation, we have identified a coffee space which is created and negotiated continuously by actors such as the FNC and UNESCO. This space is understood through its manifestations into place which happen through flows of people and the imaginaries and understandings they bring with them.



In the third aim, we have analysed how the CCLC imaginary about Colombian coffee identity is established and physically manifested. Through the analysis, we demonstrated that the WHS certification provides the CCLC with cool authentication and legitimises the Coffee Region narrative. The character Juan Valdez also helps establish the imaginary by integrating the representation of both a rural Colombian farmer and specialty coffee consumption. Further, Juan Valdez is a representation of why the coffee cultural imaginary and heritage has been established as it has been in the CCLC because it demonstrates that heritage is defined by contemporary ideas and values. As such, the agenda of the FNC with establishing a certain narrative is to utilise an identified market opportunity to target a new segment of consumers. The FNC has identified the CCLC imaginary as beneficial to reach this objective and has thus inscribed it as world heritage, freezing and legitimising this construction of Colombian coffee identity. This strategic use of imaginaries creates value through the increase of capitals due to the recognition of the CCLC as an established expression of Colombian coffee identity.

The two lines of imaginaries comprised in the CCLC coexist without clashing because they are presented to tourists as one cohesive imaginary with the appreciation of specialty coffee being a natural extension of having cultivated coffee for generations. For the Colombian actors, it is also cohesive because for them the traditional elements of the CCLC are part of their heritage and the specialty coffee element is a market opportunity which can add value to the crop they are growing. The lack of physical manifestations of the traditional elements of the CCLC demonstrates the non-institutional actors' agency and their use of their cultural capital to present their own version of the coffee narrative. The specialty coffee element of the CCLC is, however, physically manifested both in the Coffee Region and the large cities of Bogotá and Medellín. This further supports the claim that the Colombian actors identify this element as an opportunity for them to increase their economic, cultural, and symbolic capitals. Our analysis of the establishment and dissemination of the CCLC narrative and the physical manifestations of it, respectively, demonstrates that a conclusive manifestation of all the CCLC elements is not necessary for the imaginary to become firmly established because the FNC has managed to position itself in a way which allows the organisation to disseminate the imaginary towards the identified target segment of North American and European millennials without physically establishing all of the aspects.

### **Future research**

During our research, we have identified new areas which could be investigated as a continuation of this thesis. We concluded that there is a discrepancy between the imaginaries about Colombian coffee identity and, on the other hand, how this is manifested physically in the Coffee Region. For instance, Colombian coffee growers' heritage is one of

the characteristics which are promoted as part of the CCLC. However, in the region it is not physically manifested for touristic purposes besides in a few places, e.g. the Coffee Park which was created by the FNC. We consider this to be a potential issue for long term sustainability because the tourism offers in the Coffee Region often do not live up to the expectations created by the CCLC. Potential future research could thus include exploring whether this creates an issue in the long term. Furthermore, the research could investigate whether tourism actors in the Coffee Region identify their heritage as a market opportunity and if utilising it in tourism could be a way of creating better alignment between imaginaries and reality and, thus, long term sustainability.

Another potential future research could be to explore local residents' and tourism actors' (in the Coffee Region) opinion of the CCLC and of living in a UNESCO area. In the analysis, we identified which imaginaries the CCLC creates and how it manifests itself physically. It became clear that there is a misalignment between the two and through further research and data collection, it would be possible to gain more information about how residents in the Coffee Region actually view the CCLC and why it is utilised the way it is.

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Fig. 3

Photos of coffee beans from Finca Café Horizontes in Marsella, Risaralda ([Schaltz, fieldnotes, 11 January 2018](#))

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## 8 Appendices

### 8.1 Fieldwork plan

The fieldwork plan outlines the types of data we need, the categories of informants we need to interview, and the data collection methods to be utilised. It also includes a few examples of secondary data to support the empirical foundation of the thesis as well as a schedule of our daily activities during the fieldwork.

#### **Methods and informants (information to be obtained)**

##### Interviews

- Colombians' (working in coffee farms) perception of coffee culture, perception of Colombia as a 'coffee country', the significance of coffee in Colombia, positive and negative associations.
- Colombians' (not working in coffee farms) perception of coffee culture, perception of Colombia as a 'coffee country', the significance of coffee in Colombia, positive and negative associations.
- Tourists' perception of Colombia as a 'coffee country', the significance of coffee in branding and marketing of Colombia, which farms do people know (and why)?

##### Physical material

- Advertisements, flyers, folders, coffee souvenirs (physical representations of coffee culture)

##### Participant observation

- Join guided tours, workshops etc. Observe how coffee culture is framed, made tangible, which story is built around it and whether/how it is used to create a grander narrative of Colombia (is coffee utilised as a positive narrative to diminish the negative narrative about drugs, guerillas, etc.?).

##### Field notes

##### Mappings

- Mapping of cultural resources of the Coffee Region.
- Mapping of the actors involved in placemaking in the Coffee Region.

#### **Initial investigation of secondary data**

Strategy for tourism:

[https://fontur.com.co/aym\\_document/aym\\_estudios\\_fontur/ESTUDIO%20MCKIENSEY/1. PRIMER TOMO ESTRATEGIA TURISMO PARTE A.PDF](https://fontur.com.co/aym_document/aym_estudios_fontur/ESTUDIO%20MCKIENSEY/1.PRIMER_TOMO ESTRATEGIA TURISMO PARTE A.PDF)

Various documents about tourism in Colombia:

[http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/33990/direccion\\_de\\_calidad\\_y\\_desarrollo\\_sostenible](http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/33990/direccion_de_calidad_y_desarrollo_sostenible)

Cultural tourism, including coffee tourism:

[http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/38576/plan\\_estrategico\\_y\\_de\\_negocios\\_de\\_turismo\\_cultural](http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/38576/plan_estrategico_y_de_negocios_de_turismo_cultural)

## Overview of our fieldwork activities

<u>Day</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activities</u>
6 January	Copenhagen - Bogotá	Travel from Copenhagen to Bogotá.
7	Bogotá	Walked around <i>La Candelaria</i> and the touristic areas of the city. Also went to <i>Zona Rosa</i> , the high-end area. Were confused by the lack of Western tourists which were nowhere to be found in the city.
8	Bogotá	Joined a walking tour of the city. Had lunch with one of the guides afterward and then visited the tourist and pilgrimage site <i>Montserrate</i> .
9	Bogotá	Looked for travel agencies in the city to find coffee-related activities - not much luck. Then we went to a big market on the other side of town. Afterwards, we went back to the hostel for a rest and stayed in for the rest of the day.
10	Bogotá - Marsella	Flying to Pereira, drove to Marsella where we checked in at the hotel.
11	Marsella	Visit Café Horizontes ( <i>See further in Appendix 8.3</i> )
12	Marsella	Visit Café Horizontes ( <i>See further in Appendix 8.3</i> )
13	Marsella	Visit Café Horizontes ( <i>See further in Appendix 8.3</i> )
14	Marsella	Visit Café Horizontes ( <i>See further in Appendix 8.3</i> )
15	Marsella - Armenia	Taking the bus to Pereira and from Pereira to Armenia. Checking in at the hostel.
16	Armenia	Drive south to Buena Vista to visit San Alberto coffee farm. Got a ride back from the guide and walked the entire pedestrian street.
17	Armenia - Salento	Visited <i>Parque del Café</i> . Took a bus to Salento and checked in at the hostel.
18	Salento	Hiked in <i>Valle de Cocora</i> .
19	Salento	Visited the neighbouring village, Filandia.
20	Salento	Did a tour of the local cloud forest in the morning and a coffee tour in the afternoon. Played tejo at night.
21	Salento - Medellín	Took a bus to Medellín. Had dinner in the backpacker district.
22	Medellín	Theresa was sick. Sune hung out with his friends.
23	Medellín	Theresa still sick. Walked around <i>El Poblado</i> backpacking district to map offers with little success. Visited <i>Parque Botero</i> and



		sightsaw a little in the centre of town.
24	Medellín	Graffiti Tour in <i>Comuna 13</i> and cable car to <i>Santo Domingo</i> .
25	Medellín	Day tour to <i>Guatapé</i> and dinner at food market.
26	Medellín	Lunch at food market, walk in posh expat district.
27	Medellín	Flying home.

## 8.2 Field notes and observations from Bogotá

### General observations regarding coffee tours and agencies in Bogotá

Both Viator and Bogotraveltours explicitly mention the coffee farm Coloma in their descriptions. Impulsetravel.co does not mention the farm but from reading reviews of the tours, it is evident that it is also a tour of Coloma. The tours we found (listed below) are all more or less the same, all going to Coloma and with identical prices:

- <https://www.viator.com/tours/Bogota/Colombian-Coffee-Tour-from-Bogota/d4560-5549COFFEE>
- <http://www.bogotraveltours.com/servicios/tours/top-6/coffee-tour-bogota-colombia/>
- <https://impulsetravel.co/tour-operator/en/bogota-tours/day-trips/gastronomy-and-coffee/bogcofarm/coffee-farm-experience>

In Bogotá, the researchers went to various tour agencies and hostels in the area of La Candelaria which besides being the old part of Bogotá is also known as the center of the city and the most touristy area.

At Bogotraveltours, the place seemed closed. However, after knocking on the gate a tour operator opened up. The tour operator did not offer any valuable information besides giving us a brief overview of the tour and referred us to look at it online.

We decided to check out some of the hostels in the area. At one of the hostels, they had a wall filled with information regarding various tours and things to do in Bogotá. However, none of it was of coffee tours. After talking to the staff at the hostel, they did not talk about the tour(s) in Bogotá but instead about some of the tours in the actual Coffee Zone. We were given a flyer of a 4D/3N tour to the Coffee Zone, including visits to the National Park of Coffee, the Cocora Valley and the town of Salento which are all regular highlights of visits to this coffee zone. This was the only coffee-related activity we were offered at the hostel.

In general, we did not observe a lot of information out in public areas regarding tours of coffee or other activities for tourists in or around Bogotá. Most of the advertised tours in hostels were of walking tours and biking tours with themes related to general history or to graffiti paintings.

The coffee-related tours advertised were mainly tours of and tastings at various cafés in Bogotá (staying within the city) and the tours are mostly advertised online, not at tour operator offices. The only other advertised coffee activity is the tour to the coffee farm Coloma (offered by various tour operators). Lastly, the offering of sophisticated coffee shops in Bogotá seems to be increasing as we came across several very modern and newly renovated cafés with very advanced barista equipment. These coffee shops can, of course,

be visited by tourists on their own account and some must also be featured in the organised coffee tasting tours.

## **MAPPING OF COFFEE TOURISM OFFER IN BOGOTÁ**

### Activities:

- Coffee tastings and introduction to bean-to-cup process
- Visit at Coloma coffee farm

### Modes of transportation:

- Walking
- Van

### Identified potential resources:

- Developing high-end coffee shop scene
- Professional baristas
- Cultural heritage related to coffee

## **Miscellaneous field notes from the days in Bogotá (6th-10th of January)**

There is a very large number of South American tourists - it seemed like there were many more regional tourists than Western tourists. The Western tourists that were in the city seemed to be overwhelmingly 20-30-something backpackers.

Bogotá is not a big attraction in itself and is often the first or last stop on a tourist's trip to the country - mainly because of the airport and its status of capital. People usually spend 2-3 days in the city, it seems.

The city has many no-go zones where tourists are advised not to go. The national police and private security guards are present in large numbers around the tourist areas of the city and we were advised by several locals not to go beyond the areas protected by police or guards due to risks of mugging, theft and pickpocketing. We were also advised to be careful about drug traffickers using us as mules to smuggle drugs out of the country. In general, locals seemed quite concerned for us as tourists and were worried about us being targets of crime.

The tour guide Daniel, who led the free walking tour which we joined on the 8th of January, started out the tour by thanking all of us for coming to Colombia in spite of its ragged reputation of being a dangerous country. He assured us that there was really nothing to be afraid of.

After the first 45 minutes of the tour, there was a 30 minute stop at a coffee shop. During these 30 minutes, Daniel explained about the recent history and development of coffee in Colombia, its exportation, how to recognise good quality coffee and other information about coffee. After the tour, he explained during the interview we did with him that tourists started to ask questions about coffee on every tour so recently they incorporated the coffee element into the standard tour to accommodate the interest.

## 8.3 Field notes from Marsella

Fieldnotes for 11-14 of January 2018, Marsella, Colombia

11 January 2018

### Family tree of the family of Café Horizontes

The great grandparents worked for various finca owners. The grandparents also worked for various finca owners but saved up money on the side to buy their own land. They bought a total of around 20 fincas located on different pieces of land. They had three children: Two daughters and a son. The daughters (Cielo and Lucy) were trained to run the company and became the bosses which they still are today. Lucy's husband Juan Guillermo is in charge of the roastery. There are three grown children in the young generation: Ana, her brother Juan Guillermo and her cousin Ruben. Only Ana and Ruben work in the company, her brother does not. There are two children, Juan José of 2,5 years and Jacobo of 7 years.

Today, the family owns 20 conventional fincas and one organic finca.

	Great grandfather	Great grandmother Emma	
Husband Juan Guillermo +	Daughter Lucy	Daughter Cielo	Son (deceased)
Son Juan Guillermo (lawyer, not in the business)	Daughter Ana	Son Ruben	
	Son Juan José	Son Jacobo	

The telenovela Hermanitas Calle made Marsella famous last year because it was recorded in the village. This drew a few tourists to visit.

The tourism in Marsella is not organised and the municipality is not engaged in it.

The Casa de Cultura was originally a monastery for nuns, then a school for girls and was bought by hippies in the 1960s who created the house of culture.

70 % of the people of Marsella work with coffee.

### Notes from conversation with Ana from Café Horizontes and from tour around the main finca

Café Horizontes export: 90%

Café Horizontes sold in Colombia: 10%

The company also bags some of its coffee itself so it can be sold in Marsella (and to future tourists on the finca).

The various qualities of coffee are combined by the importers because the best coffee (called 'café en excelso') is very expensive.

La Federación Nacional de Cafeteros: Secures the quality of the coffee and takes 6 cents per dollar of the coffee a farmer exports as a kind of tax/fee.

Previously, the coffee farmers had a bank and a fleet of ships to export the coffee but only the coffee shop Juan Valdez is left of this organisation (Fondo de Cafe Cultivo). Ana's father Juan Guillermo says that it is more difficult to be a coffee farmer these days.

Horizontes used to have Rainforest Alliance Certification to be able to sell their coffee at higher prices and guarantee the price but they no longer have it. They realised that the profit of the higher sales prices go to middlemen instead of the farmers and the certification is expensive (2 million pesos/year or approx. 2,000 euros/year). Most fincas (incl. Horizontes) have the UTZ certification because it is much easier to get. Many farmers 'sell' their certification to their uncertified neighbours, i.e. they put their certification stamp on their neighbour's coffee even though it does not live up to the standards because they can earn a little extra this way.

The family's main finca, El Prado:

- Two important rivers cross the land and the family is very careful to take good care of the rivers because they supply water to many other areas and fincas, e.g. El Alto Cauca which is the biggest vereda (group of fincas) in Marsella.
- The shell of the coffee beans is used for fertilisation.
- They plant corn in the coffee fields (alongside the coffee plants) in order to be able to harvest the fields quicker (because the corn grows faster than the coffee).
- The entire process from seed to cup is present at the finca.
- The primary harvest is from August to November, the secondary one is in February and March.
- The coffee pickers live and eat at the finca.
- There is more coffee tourism in the Quindío department where tourism has been established for 10-15 years.

12 January

The veredas (territories, groups of fincas) have various types of crops, not only coffee.

The family's organic finca, La Argentina:

- They use aloe vera, papaya, garlic etc. as fertilizers.
- Don Manuel's Forest on the land has won a prize in Belgium because it is a native forest. The former owner of the finca (Don Manuel) always kept seeds in his pockets and planted a few every time he went for a walk. That is how the forest came about.
- The unripe, green coffee beans are sundried on the roof of a small building. This type of coffee is sold locally as low-quality coffee.
- Water plants are grown to be used as food for the worms that create compost to be used as fertilizer - everything is organic and made from scratch. They also make their own nitrogen for the fertilizer. Lucy worked with a recognised eco-guru in Colombia to create this system/process. She is a self-trained expert herself.

- The finca house is beautiful and colourful which is a tradition for the houses of the coffee region.

There are three qualities of coffee: 1) gourmet, en excelso, 2) coffee beans with some defect, sorted in the washing process, 3) green beans that are harvested early to be able to cut the plants. The various qualities are often mixed and most Colombians have never tried a cup of quality coffee. They drink the mix of 2nd and 3rd grade beans.

13 January 2018

### **Mapping of the village of Marsella**

The village of Marsella has a lot of picturesque houses but does not have much more to offer in the way of attractions. It has a botanical garden, the main square, the Casa de Cultura, a few restaurants and cafés. There are also two small souvenir shops; one of them sells coffee related items. One potential point of interest is the cemetery, however after visiting it, it was deemed that it is not really a noteworthy point of interest.

### **Traditional dances and music**

Ana had organised a demonstration of five of the dances originating in the coffee region, along with local traditional music. The dancers demonstrated their costumes which were similar to those worn several hundred years ago by the coffee pickers in the fields and each item had a specific historic meaning. The costumes are different in each area and thus tell the local history. Further, each dance had a plot and told a small story of everyday life in the coffee zone back in the day. Some dances as well as part of the costumes had European origins which tells the story of colonization.

### **Mapping of cultural resources of Marsella**

- The history of Marsella, the Coffee Region and of coffee in Colombia in general.
- The story of the ecological movement in Marsella starting with a group of young hippies buying the building and creating the Casa de Cultura in the 1960s-1970s, buying important land to protect the villages' water supply and the entire ecological movement they brought to Marsella (Marsella as Ecological Capital of Colombia, the Botanic Garden, the Casa de Cultura). The previous city government somewhat carried on this ecological legacy and had the village decorated with various murals with ecological messages, as well.
- The story and culture of the music and dance of the region. Telling history through cultural displays.
- The religious aspect: The enormous church, the monastery which was bought by hippies to become a house for culture (a minor/secondary story).

### **Consultancy project for Café Horizontes**

The family of Horizontes has a lot of family and friends who they would like to include in the project; both to create a good product but mostly to benefit their friends.

Ana has many ideas for many other elements to add to the tourism product (hammock area, fireplace to grill plantains, a craft station with Manos Unidas, local musicians and dancers, the chocolate finca) and actually does not talk that much about how to create the coffee

experience. Maybe she does not think that the coffee is 'strong' enough to be the only element in the product?

14 January 2018

### **Miscellaneous notes**

The murals in the city have messages of ecology and balance between man and nature. They were painted by the previous city government and are thus not from the 1960s-70s when there was a lot of focus on this area. The sign saying that Marsella is the ecological capital of Colombia is also very old and there have been no activities in this regard for many years.

Ana's primary motivation for developing the tourism project is to gain more independence. She wants to earn her own money, be in control of her own decisions and feel accomplished in her work life. She wants to create her own niche and area of responsibility within the family company where it can be difficult to find your own area of expertise.

Ana's thoughts on coffee culture:

Ana thinks that coffee culture is becoming fashionable for the wealthy people in the cities and that they are inspired by Europeans and Westerners. It is not that they are proud of the good Colombian product - but that they want to mimic Westerners and Western culture. There is no specific coffee culture for the lower classes. They have never been able to buy quality coffee and have no specific awareness of a coffee culture - e.g. a desire to drink speciality coffee drinks or using coffee as a means of social positioning or as a status symbol.

There is no understanding of Colombia as a 'coffee country' in other regions of the country. Each region has its own crop which it focuses on and e.g. the sugar cane or potato farmers do not care much about coffee even though they know that Colombia is famous for its coffee.

Tourists see Colombia as a coffee country in spite of many Colombians' indifference to coffee.

The administrators of the farms have started buying Horizontes coffee rather than the cheap qualities because they are starting to realise the difference in quality. A coffee culture is starting to develop in the region among the wealthier people (the Don Danilo café is a testament to this).

15 January 2018

### **Our activities while in Marsella**

11 January:

- Pick up by Ana and Esteban at the hotel.
- Drive to the roastery to meet Juan Guillermo and talk about the family history etc.
- See the culture house in the city
- Have lunch at La Estancia restaurant.
- Drive to Finca El Prado to see the grounds.



- Drive to the neighbouring finca owned by Juan Guillermo where he had Geisha coffee beans and a lot of fruit trees

12 January:

- Pick up by Ana at the hotel.
- Drive to Finca La Argentina to see the organic finca.
- Drive to the San Andrés area to visit the banana leaf weaving project.
- Drive to Eco Hotel Los Lagos to see the hotel, have dinner and listen to a performance of traditional guitar music.

13 January:

- Mapping of the village of Marsella on our own.
- See performance of traditional dance and music in the Botanical Garden.

14 January:

- Pick up by Ana at the hotel.
- Drive to Finca La Miranda which is a farm with cattle, horses and donkeys. Theresa went horseback riding with six other people while Sune stayed at the finca with Ana. We had lunch and spent all afternoon at La Miranda.
- Drive back to Marsella and have grilled plantains for dinner with Ana and her cousin Esteban.

## 8.4 Field notes from remaining Coffee Region and Medellín

### **Rough interview guide for Alejandro, visitor manager at San Alberto**

- The history of San Alberto, how it developed, and how it is run
- Which framing of coffee is given at San Alberto? Do they emphasise certain elements?
- Which tourism offers do they have? What type of tourists visit the establishment?

16 January

### **Finca San Alberto**

We arrived to San Alberto and were greeted by Alejandro who spoke perfect English. We started the tour at the terrace where he brewed us a cup of coffee using a special Chemex coffee maker while explaining all of the details of the brewing, the components of the coffee and the effect each brewing method has on the flavour of the coffee. He also explained that San Alberto coffee has won many awards, perhaps being the most award-winning Colombian coffee brand, and is an exclusive luxury product from a professional company. As we started the walk in the coffee fields and towards the processing plant, he told us about the history of the company which is a 3rd generation family business. The inspiration for the tourism business came from French vineyards because the third generations of the family have studied in France and noticed how wines and wine culture and production are presented and commercialised there.

Alejandro also presented various statistics and facts about coffee in Colombia, e.g. how many families and people make their living from coffee fincas. The various information quantitatively presented coffee as a very important industry to Colombia (with an emphasis on the business aspects - nothing about culture etc. was mentioned). According to Alejandro, 90 % of the small Colombian coffee farmers (about 3 mio. people) sell their coffee

to middle men who handle the rest of the production chain while San Alberto has its own chain - from seed to export. The small coffee farmers do not consume the coffee themselves but sell it all according to Alejandro.

San Alberto Coffee is both UTZ and Rainforest Alliance certified and we are told about the implications of both certifications, ie. that San Alberto is friendly towards the environment and its workers (the negative aspects and cheat mentioned by Café Horizontes are not mentioned at all).

The entire area was very groomed and polished, the paths were nice, the fields neat. There were signs everywhere in both Spanish and English. Despite the very polished look, it is also clear that it is a working farm: We met many coffee pickers and other employees and the processing plant was, though clean and tidy, clearly being used regularly.

When asked, Alejandro told us that San Alberto currently has seven different touristic experiences, about half of them added very recently. All of the tourist experiences are inspired by experiences in vineyards with tastings, sommeliers, brewing methods etc. in order to frame the coffee as a luxury good with complicated processes and experts with highly specific knowledge of the product. Some of the new tourist experiences mix coffee with products like rum or honey to combine the different tastes and experiment with the limits for the uses of coffee.

The production of rum is increasing in the area and therefore the mix of rum and coffee is a mix of two local products to create a differentiated touristic product.

The various tours vary in length from one hour to several hours and go into different levels of depth with the coffee; there are both detailed experiences for the very interested and more superficial experiences for regular tourists who are mostly interested in having a cup of coffee in a beautiful environment.

San Alberto received 2,000 tourists for tours in 2017. 80 % were foreigners and 20 % were Colombians. The café at the terrace is open to everyone without buying a tour and here 80 % of visitors were Colombians while 20 % were foreigners. The foreign tourists are mostly from Europe, Canada and the United States. Half of the people who come for tours come as part of a tour group. There is also an increase in the number of tourists who come independently.

At the processing plant, Alejandro tells us about the Five Step Process which San Alberto brands itself with to highlight that their coffee has been through a selection process with five steps to ensure the best quality coffee. The last steps happen in the laboratory on site which seems quite advanced but at least the first three steps are common for most coffee fincas, it seems.

After the introduction to the various elements of the processing plant, we have a coffee tasting. The tasting is almost scientific and is very structured. We are given a personal coffee tasting diary with descriptions of the taste sense, the various aroma families and room to describe the aroma, fragrance and taste of two different cups of coffee. Everything is very clean and professional, based on science and taking place in the on site laboratory.

The tour ends with Alejandro brewing us another cup of fancy coffee in the terrace, this time with a siphon, while he explains the science behind this brewing method. At the end, he gives us diplomas with our names on them, stating that we are now ambassadors for San Alberto coffee and that for the future we should always seek out and buy quality coffee rather than cheap coffee of a lesser quality.

He also asks us to write reviews on TripAdvisor and Instagram to help the finca attract more tourists.

Alejandro says he drinks San Alberto coffee himself because he can taste a difference in quality but that the coffee pickers and manual workers at the farm probably cannot afford it. On the way back from Buena Vista to Armenia, Alejandro gives us a ride. We pass by RECUCO (*Recorrido Cultural Cafetero*) which apparently is a touristic coffee finca which receives a lot of tour groups and is less exclusive, according to Alejandro. They emphasize folklore and history more which Alejandro clearly does not like and considers less exclusive.

#### Other observations from San Alberto

San Alberto includes no elements of the historic and special culture of the coffee region but presents an exclusive and modern product directed primarily towards foreigners and wealthy Colombians. For comparison, the cheapest cup of black coffee in most small cafés costs 600 pesos while a black coffee at the San Alberto terrace costs 3,000 pesos. The lack of demonstration of the local culture was also expressed by the terrace café playing English language pop music rather than traditional Spanish language music as is otherwise mostly played in Colombia (partly because most Colombians do not speak English).

17 January

#### **Parque del Café (The Coffee Park)**

We visited the coffee-themed amusement park close to the city of Armenia. The layout of the park is divided in two areas: The first, smaller area with the coffee-themed attractions and the second, bigger area with mechanical rides such as rollercoasters, trains, children's area and food courts.

#### *El Museo del Café* (The Coffee Museum):

The museum is quite modern and has several interactive, digital features. It presents the origin of the coffee plant, the growth process of the plant, the research organisation of coffee growers called CENICAFÉ, and the biodiversity of the region. There is also a section presenting the historic culture of the Coffee Region, including architecture, dress, music, literature, common rural houses, and pastime activities. A timeline of the development of the coffee industry in Colombia for the past hundred years is also presented.

Another section presents the commercialisation of coffee, including the forming of cooperatives, export, logistics, quality control, traceability, and statistics about consumption of coffee worldwide. Overall, the exhibition is presented in chronological order and presents the history of Colombian coffee from small rural farms to a worldwide export adventure handled by professional large actors.

#### *Sendero del Café* (The Coffee Path):

A long path that leads from the museum towards the rides and large attractions. Along the path there are coffee plants, a plant nursery and all of the various machinery used for the processing of coffee beans. As such, the path demonstrates the process from seedling to ground coffee. However, we were the only visitors using the path, the vast majority of visitors used the cable car to access the mechanic rides directly.

### *Show del Café* (Coffee Show):

The show starts with the people of each region being welcomed. Clearly, most people are Colombians, many from the nearby regions. Then a very popular song is played, everyone applauds, sings along and becomes excited; it seems that all Colombians know the song. The show begins and throughout the show the speaker speaks in both Spanish and English. The show is a series of dances, each one demonstrates a new set of traditional costumes/dress, music and dances which vary by region and several regions are thereby included. The show also contains a reenactment of a typical market day - the show emphasizes the common people and their customs. There is a focus on regional culture and the development of coffee from the arrival of the coffee plant to Colombia to established agriculture to export abroad. Overall, there is a high degree of national and regional pride in the show.

Thoughts: Are the folkloric attractions/experiences for Colombians while the polished and modern ones are for foreigners? Alejandro from San Alberto did not like the emphasis on folklore and comparing San Alberto and the *Show del Café*, it seems like the folklore is directed at and attracts a national audience while the modern framing of coffee as an international luxury good is aimed at foreigners and wealthy Colombians (who imitate Western trends, partly by distancing themselves from the national folkloric aspects?)?

### Overall observations about the Coffee Park in general

There are almost no visitors in the area with coffee-themed attractions; all of the visitors are in the area with the mechanic attractions. Aside from the very popular *Show del Café*, it seems like coffee just lends its name to the park - visitors are not really interested in it. Almost all of the visitors to the park are Colombians and the park is very family-friendly. There are no sensory coffee attractions/experiences (except for the cafés).

Presentation/framing of coffee: An integral part of the region's history and culture, now an important export good. It is not presented as part of present day culture - only perhaps in the form of the Juan Valdéz coffee shops? It seems that previously coffee = culture, now coffee = a commercial good.

17 January

### **The city of Armenia**

Armenia is the capital of the Quindío department which is central in the coffee region. For tourists, the city itself has little appeal and is not picturesque in any way.

The growing interest in quality and specialty coffee and the ability and desire to spend more money on coffee is becoming evident in the city, though, through the existence of a number of small cafés selling espresso-based specialty coffees which are direct competitors to the classic Colombian *tinto* (a black coffee made from 2nd and 3rd grade coffee). However, despite Armenia being a central city in the coffee region, the specialty coffee shops are still few in number. Wandering down the entire main pedestrian street, we spotted around five establishments of varying sizes (some were tiny stalls).

19 January 2018

### **The village of Filandia**

Filandia is a village close to Salento, about 30 minutes away. We had it recommended by our host at Café Horizontes.

The village is very similar to Salento in its traditional architecture with colonial houses with colourful wooden details. The village has many souvenir shops and stores with expensive clothing and jewellery, directed at tourists. There were also a few souvenir shops selling coffee-themed items.

The primary difference we could notice between Filandia and Salento were the type of tourists attracted: Salento attracts European backpackers while Filandia attracts Colombian families. Despite it being very small, Filandia had a noticeable number of fancy, modern coffee houses selling many different coffee beverages and well as many different brands of Colombian coffee, most from the coffee region. In the shops we were given detailed descriptions on the various types of coffee and where in the area they originated from.

Filandia has some tourist attractions related to the area and the local traditions such as a constructed viewpoint with views over the whole area and a local crafts museum for weaving baskets and furniture.

20 January 2018

### **The village of Salento**

Salento is included in the itinerary of many tourists going to the Coffee Region, often as the only stop in the region. The main attraction of the village is the Cocora Valley located 15 minutes away while the second-most important attraction are the coffee farms. From the various interviews we did with tourists in Salento, it became clear that the Cocora Valley is by far the most important attraction and coffee tourism is a convenient add-on while people are in the village anyway. Salento has become the (backpacker) hub in the Coffee Region but some people, e.g. our guide at a tour of the cloud forest in Salento, told us that Salento is actually not part of the coffee region.

Most tourists here are young European backpackers and they go to both the valley and a coffee farm. They do not decide on which coffee farm to visit in advance so it is often decided, it seems, by recommendations at their accommodation or from other travellers as well as by ratings on sites such as Tripadvisor.

The village of Salento is very small but has a large number of hostels, stores and restaurants catering to tourists. We did not, however, see any fancy coffee houses or cafés, like e.g. in Filandia. There is a street which only has souvenir shops, several of them selling only coffee-related souvenirs such as candy, liquor and artwork. The majority of the souvenirs and goods sold at the stores is not coffee-related, though, and includes items such as jewellery, clothing and furniture. Many people working in tourism here also speak English.

The architecture of the village is colourful and picturesque, typical of the region. The surrounding landscape is also beautiful but features surprisingly few coffee fields.

### **Tour at El Ocaso coffee farm**

El Ocaso is the highest rated coffee tour in Salento with a score of 4.7/5 on Tripadvisor. On the way to El Ocaso, we saw multiple signs indicating that it was an “authentic” experience and that they did tours in English. Furthermore, they called the tour “the original coffee tour” which was also printed on the t-shirts which all of the staff wore at the farm.

The area itself was very touristy and developed with an entrance building with English-speaking staff greeting you and a restaurant/café with a view over the area.

The tour started with us waiting in a waiting area in a group of approximately 10 in total, where the guide showed up and promptly said we are starting now and lead us to the pulpa-machine where we were given baskets without any further introduction. After that we were lead to a seating area where the guide talked about the process. After that we were given 10 minutes to try to pick our own coffee beans in a small field next to the seating area. Then we were shown the machinery sorting the beans followed by a tasting of the coffee. The tour took around 1,5 hours. In general, the tour seemed rushed and the guide did not seem interested to do the tour. The cost of the tour was 15k pesos which included the tasting in the end.

The finca seemed small and didn't seem like they produced a lot of coffee and the tour was mostly for tourists. After the tour we talked to a group of Canadians who also thought that the tour was mediocre. On the ride back, we discussed the tour with a group of 3 Danish tourists which shared the same opinion and believed that the tour they had done in Santa Marta was way better.

23 January 2018

### **Coffee culture and tourism in Medellín**

Most backpackers in the city live in the posh *El Poblado* district. The district is full of trendy restaurants, clothing stores, bars and coffee shops which sell specialty coffees and bagged Colombian coffee to bring home - some of it boasting its local origin. Aside from tourists, the coffee shops are full of well-dressed and seemingly well-off Colombians who enjoy socialising in the cafés. The prices in the cafés are relatively high compared to the price of a regular black coffee (*tinto*) bought by many middle and lower income Colombians and average around 4,000 COP (9 DKK).

The number of tour agencies in the district is relatively low and we were only able to find three tour offices. They all had the same tour concept available: Drive to a coffee farm outside the city where the process from bean to cup is demonstrated in an hour to an hour and a half. One tour office did, however, stand out by offering a combined tour of the coffee farm and Guatapé, a large rock formation which is one of the biggest tourist attractions around Medellín. Overall, the part of the tour taking place at the coffee farm (we do not know if all go to the same one - but suspect it) seems generic and superficial.

More desk research on this is needed, though, since most tours are booked online and through hostels and that is probably the reason for the limited number of physical offices - it does not necessarily reflect the full offer of activities.



My overall impression of the importance of coffee tourism in the overall tourism offer in Medellín is that it plays a role but not a major one. Other activities are the primary attractions.

## 8.5 Interviews

### CONVERSATION 1

Location: Bogotá

Date: January 7th

Iliam, 24 years old, from Sweden.

Travelling to Colombia for the nature, culture, beaches, salsa, coffee.

Friends and relatives were sceptical of him travelling to Colombia. Friends were a little less sceptical than his family who was quite worried about crime. Iliam himself is mostly worried about less serious crime such as pickpocketing and does not see crime as a big threat.

He planned his trip last minute and has not decided on any specific coffee farms to visit but does want to do some coffee tourism.

He is seeking local and authentic experiences as well as wanting to party.

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### UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 2

Location: Bogota

Date: January 8th

Andre & Maaiké, backpacking couple from Amsterdam, NL. Both 23 years old. Have been travelling South America for approximately 6 months, been approximately a month in Colombia, including 7 days in Salento.

Their parents were only concerned about them going to Colombia and not any of the other countries they had been to or were going to such as Nicaragua and Honduras. The parents were concerned for the safety of the couple due to a lot of crime in Colombia.

The friends/peers of the couple were not concerned about them going to Colombia. As the couple stated, their friends were more "rational" and were more worried about them going to Honduras.

The couple themselves did not think they would be in any danger in Colombia and had no specific feelings towards Colombia before going. They went because they heard it was nice from other travellers in other countries. The only thoughts they had before was that they had heard it was nice from other travellers and their own pre-understanding before they started

their South-American trip. They did not have any specific stereotypes of Colombia (nor negative or positive).

They did think of Colombia as a coffee-country, but did not go to any coffee-tours as they had been on that in Nicaragua and believed it would be about the same in Colombia so they did not bother to go on more and they had a hangover most of the days they spent in Salento.

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### UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 3

Location: Bogotá

Date: January 8th

Dave from New York, USA, about 30 years old.

He has Colombian relatives and therefore has been to the country various times. His friends and Colombian relatives in the US are worried about him travelling to smaller, less touristy places in Colombia due to the risk of crime.

He knew before going that he wanted to do some coffee-related activities but not specifically which ones. He drinks coffee, but does not have any particular interest in it and does not drink high quality coffee back home. He found out what to do along the way. He planned his trip a little last minute.

He visited two organic coffee farms outside of Santa Marta (Minca, Salamina) and was very impressed by them. He also visited a coffee theme park in that area which he also enjoyed. Overall, he had only positive things to say about the coffee activities, farms, workshops and locations that he had seen and participated in.

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### UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 4

Location: Bogotá

Date: January 8th

Pierreux from Belgium, about 25 years old.

He is travelling through the Amazonian rainforest in various countries, Colombia among several others. He is mostly interested in anything related with cocoa beans because he wants to open a chocolate business and is searching for the best raw materials. All of his activities revolve around this interest.

None of his friends or relatives were worried about him travelling to Colombia. He said maybe this is because he wasn't specifically travelling to Colombia but to the Amazonian rainforest and because he was going for work-related purposes.

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#### UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 5

Location: Bogotá

Date: January 8th

Swiss woman, about 30 years old.

Travelling for one month in Colombia and has been alone for half the time.

She started her trip with a one-week tour package including the Pereira coffee zone, Medellín and Cartagena.

She considers Colombia to be becoming a safer country. Her friends and especially her family were worried about her going to the country due to fears of crime, though. She and her friend were mugged with a knife in Medellín at midnight on New Year's Eve.

What attracted her to travelling to Colombia was that it is becoming safer, is very diverse, has many attractions, few tourists, and is a beautiful country.

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#### UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 6

Location: Bogotá

Date: January 8th

Daniel and Camilo, tour guides with Beyond Colombia

The importance of tourism has increased exponentially during the last few years and tourism is now one of the most important sectors for the country.

When Daniel started as a guide 2,5 years ago, there were three guides - now they are 15.

The development of tourism is happening fast and the government has now introduced official guiding certifications which were not required when Daniel started as a guide. The guides are negotiating with the government about the implementation of these certifications because they will potentially put the uncertified guides out of work.

Colombians are only starting to learn about the potential of coffee tourism in these years and the sector is still very young. Until a few (<5) years ago, 100% of the good quality coffee was exported and Colombians are used to drinking the poorer quality of coffee, known as 'tinto' (black coffee). This is what Colombians consider good quality coffee because they are

accustomed to this taste. Camilo says that coffee is an integral part of Colombian culture but it has always been only simple, black coffee. Not like e.g. French and Italian coffee traditions with many different elaborate types of coffee drinks. These various types of coffee drinks (cappuccino, espresso etc.) and ways of preparing the coffee (e.g. cold drip) are first being introduced in Colombia now.

The national tourism agency (Anatur?) is training coffee farmers in rural areas within tourism and e.g. teaching English to develop coffee tourism and equip farmers to receive tourists.

As tour guides, they have and are still experiencing a shift in tourists' focus: Previously, they have focused almost exclusively on the problematic issues of drug trade and violence but are now asking more questions about positive attributes such as coffee. As such, coffee is increasingly something people want to know about and it is part of many people's itineraries.

While tourists always ask about drugs and crime, their tendency to focus on negative issues also depends on their age and nationality. E.g., backpackers are less worried about crime. Camilo says that the peace agreement with FARC is also important and it makes tourists feel safer. Most people ask about the peace process and peace agreement.

Based on his experience with tourists, Camilo perceives the main attractions in Colombia to be the cheap price level, the country still not being too touristy, the diverse offering of attractions, nice cities (Medellín and Cartagena more so than Bogotá), natural attractions, and coffee.

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## CONVERSATION 7

Location: Salento  
Date: January 18

Daughter and father travelling for three weeks in Aruba and Colombia. From Den Bosch, Netherlands. Their primary destination was Aruba and they chose to add Colombia to the itinerary because it is very close by. They have visited Santa Marta, Cartagena, Medellín, Salento and will continue to Cali before going home. They did not have any fears or worries before going to Colombia and did not mention having had any problems here, either. They did, however, mention that Cali seemed to be a somewhat dangerous city where you have to be quite careful and mentioned that in their guidebook it said something like "safety stops here" when going to Cali. Furthermore, the daughter also had been thinking about how many of their valuables to leave behind in their hostel/hotel like phone, most of the money, etc. They also have several friends who had reported feeling unsafe in Bogotá. They are only visiting Salento in the coffee region and came to see the Cocora Valley - not for the coffee. However, while they are here, they will also visit a coffee farm.

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## CONSERVATION 8

Location: Salento

Date: January 18 2018

German couple in the mid-twenties, backpacking for three weeks in Colombia. Arrived in Bogotá, now in Salento and will continue to Medellín and north towards Cartagena. Came to Salento both the for coffee and for the Cocora Valley. They have not decided on which coffee farm(s) they will visit but will find out as they go along.

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## CONVERSATION 9

Location: Salento

Date: January 18-20 2018

Lars and Julia, Germans, around 30 years old.

Both had heard good things about Colombia and did not have any negative perceptions of the country before going. Lars is backpacking in Colombia and then moving on to neighbouring countries while Julia is with Lars for the Colombia-leg of the trip.

Both attended the El Ocaso Coffee Tour the same day as we did. When we met up with them at the finca, they both said it was boring and that the “1,5 hour tour felt like 3 hours” because it was so boring. They were both, however, going to another tour later on in another area, that they were looking forward to as they had heard it would be good.

Apart from Salento, they were also visiting the cities of Jardín and Manizales in the coffee region. They had planned the city stops beforehand but were booking tours and accommodation along the way and thus had not sought out specific tours etc. before starting the trip. They were using online advice and hostel recommendations to choose attractions; for instance, they chose the El Ocaso Coffee Tour because the hostel recommended it.

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## CONVERSATION 10

Location: Salento

Date: January 19 2018

Scottish woman, around 65 years old. Travelling solo in Colombia for two months. She is in the coffee area to see the Cocora Valley and to visit coffee farms. She had planned her itinerary before starting the trip and Salento was included for the above reasons. She had not planned ahead of time which coffee farm(s) to visit but simply walked out one of the roads leading out of town and stumbled upon a farm where she joined a tour. It was fine but not remarkable. On the tour, they explained the stages of coffee production and it ended with a tasting.

She is not scared of travelling in Colombia and has not had any bad experiences. However, she does take precautions such as always arriving to a new destination during the day. Her family and friends are quite worried about her travelling in Colombia due to fears of crime but she herself is, as stated, not too worried. Her motivation for travelling to Colombia was that she previously met other travellers who recommended it and that she met some very friendly Colombians on a different trip a few years ago.

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## UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 11

Location: Salento

Date: 20 January 2018

Three Danes travelling together in South America for three months, in their mid-twenties. They were on the same coffee tour at El Ocaso coffee farm outside of Salento as us. They found the tour somewhat superficial and nothing remarkable. They did, however, very much like the coffee which made up for the tour being less than great.

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## CONVERSATION 12

Location: Medellín

Date: January 21 2018

Lee from England, about 40 years old. Is travelling alone indefinitely, has been going for about five months so far. He is cognizant of risks of crime as a tourist in South America in general and takes his precautions when preparing the logistics of his travels. For instance, he read online that tourists on the bus company which he had booked had been drugged and robbed and therefore he immediately changed his booking to a new company. He is not more concerned about travelling in Colombia than in the other Latin American countries. The only place in the coffee region he is planning to visit is Salento and from there he will go on a coffee tour and hike Valle de Cocora. He mostly plans his trip using recommendations from other travellers and has not decided on which coffee tour to choose yet. In Colombia, he is visiting Medellín, the Caribbean coast and Salento.

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## UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEW 13

Location: Medellín

Date: January 24 2018

Man from Germany, around 60 years old. Travelling alone in Colombia. He says that he is not worried about being in the country or travelling alone because he has been to other places which he considers more dangerous, e.g. the township Soweto in South Africa, without anything negative happening to him. He does take precautions, though, and for instance does not go out at night.

His motivation for travelling to Colombia was the nature and the exotic fruits which he really appreciates.

He is travelling to Salento but nowhere else in the coffee region. In Colombia in general, he is visiting the Caribbean coast, Medellín, Salento and Calí.

## 8.6 Interviewguide for Alejandro, Kaffe Bueno

### **Kaffe Bueno in general**

- What is the Kaffe Bueno business about more specifically? How did it start?
- Which coffee farmers do they collaborate with and how did they select them? Do these farms have any tourism business on the side (or other businesses?)
- The farms are not certified; according to the Kaffe Bueno website it seems that they can confirm what Café Horizontes told us about certification 'scams'. Can Alejandro elaborate on this and give examples?
- Do the farmers Alejandro works with have other partners? If yes, who?

### **Alejandro's personal experience as a Colombian and a coffee professional**

- For how long has Alejandro been in Denmark and why did he move here?
- Why did he choose to work with coffee? Did he have any previous relation to or experience with coffee?
- What is his understanding and perception of the coffee culture and importance of coffee in Colombia (has there historically been a coffee culture and, if yes, what has the nature of it been?)? Does he see it developing or changing?
- During our fieldwork, we experienced coffee being staged in different ways to different audiences, respectively nationals vs. foreigners and wealthy Colombians. What does Alejandro think of this and what is the reason for this difference in staging?
- What does Alejandro think about coffee tourism? Is it strange that coffee has become a 'label' and an attraction for Colombia?

## 8.7 Transcription of interview with Alejandro, Kaffe Bueno

Theresa: What we would like to talk to you about is some of your background for your business and also some of your knowledge as a Colombian and as someone who is working professionally with coffee, so if you want can you start by telling us a little bit about how your project started?

Alejandro: How our project started, well it started in, I think you (Frederikke) already know this story, in London, in 2015, 2016, end of 2015. We were studying in London with a lot of Scandinavian people. Mostly Swedish and Danish people and we always drank a lot of coffee with them and we saw that they were obsessed with coffee. Some more than us. They saw coffee like a god or something, and we were like hey.

Frederikke: And you were surprised by that.

Alejandro: Yeah we were surprised because I never expected that, but they were drinking kind of shit coffee and one time in the summer, we went to Colombia and brought back some coffee with us and they almost came.

Theresa: They loved it.

Alejandro: Yeah they loved it. I mean they were very surprised and we were like okay maybe we should do something there and then we started researching a lot about the coffee market in Scandinavia and we figured out that it is where there is the highest consumption per capita of coffee as well as the recycling culture is very big and there is a high appreciation for high quality products and so on so we were like okay we should go there. But we didn't want to make a business where we just sell coffee like everybody else, but since we are from Colombia we grew up seeing the kind of fucked up side with the farms as well as the big consumption waste that is produced so we wanted to make a company that encompass all of that. We initially started with a Swedish partner, one of our classmates, so we were going to do it in Stockholm, but then we started to look more into the Danish market, because the Danish market is the one that is leading organic market and consumption as well as the recycling culture is super strong here, so yeah we applied to a program called startup Denmark with the Danish business authority (02.46) and yeah they invited us to apply for foreign entrepreneur visa so we did and ...

T/F: Back when you were still in London?

Alejandro: No by then we had finished our bachelor and we were, we took like three months to go to Barcelona and just keep on working on the project and chill a little bit and being in Barcelona we received the letter from the Danish business authority that we should come and yeah from there on we just started working like all in on this, but what really motivated us in the beginning was, well first of all we had an idea, we had been talking about it and in the last semester in university we had this entrepreneurship class and our teacher was a venture capitalist and when we made this thing with this business plan he offered us some

money to do it with him and so on and we were like okay this is valued and we should do it, but alone, so that is what we did. We went back to Colombia and set everything up there and then came here.

Theresa: So when you said that you saw these people drinking a lot of coffee, but bad coffee, how did you know that it was bad coffee?

Alejandro: Because it tasted bad.

Theresa: Ok, so you knew that by comparing to what you were used to drinking in Colombia?

Alejandro: Yeah even though in Colombia the coffee consumed in Colombia in the local market. It is, the good quality coffee is exported and the low quality coffee stays in Colombia, we usually drank, a special kind of coffee at our houses and then I tried the one in London and then I was like, what the fuck. We looked into specialty coffee shops in London and we found a lot of them as well, the specialty coffee culture in London is very developed I would say so also for us was a learning experience living in London with a lot of Scandinavians because we got deep into specialty coffee, which is not really as strong as it is here, in Colombia.

Theresa: You also said you had previous knowledge of the farmers' conditions and issues. How did you have that?

Alejandro: When you live in Colombia that is like news of everyday like, for example, there is a huge fund allocated to national coffee federation, to help the farmers, but instead what they do is make, so this is something from the news, when I was little, a huge fund allocated to help the farmers, but then people, like politicians made deals with La Federación Nacional Cafetero, the coffee federation and with commercial houses who sold chemical fertilizers and the money just stayed there with the rich and with the small farms who don't have resources and they don't see the funds allocated to them. And for example, I don't know if I am being clear, so for example the whole system is also very much like all of those funds for La Federación Nacional Cafetero, instead of giving the money to the farms, they, since they are sort of married to commercial houses that sell fertilizers then they get a commission per fertilizer sold, so what they do is buy a lot of fertilizer, which they gain money with and then instead of giving money to the farmers, they give fertilizers and they are not incentivizing organic farming because they rely on those chemical fertilizers.

Theresa: Okay, because they get a cut every time the small farmers buy fertilizers.

Alejandro: Exactly, but it seems like the fund from the government for the farmers, they shouldn't buy those, they are not really, the small farmers are not buying them. It is simply the La Federación Nacional, instead of giving them money, give them the fertilizers, but from the commercial houses that they are partner with.

Theresa: So they are the ones making money.

Alejandro: Yeah it is a lot of corruption and bureaucracy in that, in all of that industry, well in the whole Colombia.

Frederikke: So you work with three farms now? Why those three?

Alejandro: We went to a lot of farms, tried a lot of coffees and met farmers. And first of all the coffee that we chose are the ones that we like, maybe not the most, but yeah the most I would say, but also because of the farmers themselves. We saw a potential to work together, not as a charity, because we don't want to be a charity, but rather see the challenges on a daily basis. That is why we travel and spend some time with them, like a week or so, to not just come here and say that we are paying good prices to them, but actually tell the story, what is it that is causing them to be, to not have good conditions and then find a solution with them to simply work towards.

Theresa: So are these farms. How did you seek them out? Are they farms that receive tourists or where did you look them up?

Alejandro: In Colombia you, very easy if you come from Colombia to get contacts. Everybody knows a person who grows coffee and our first approach to the coffee industry was that one of my best friends. I know her from high school. Her father is like a big business man and handles like huge coffee farm. And those are the ones that are benefited from the government instead of the small farms and that is what we got insight from, after approaching them. Like they don't do anything wrong, they just simply because they are big, they get bigger, because that is how it works. And then we saw, we went to the farms and we saw these people don't need help. So in that trip and last we were training ourselves. We would go to a lot of courses like roasting, cupping and so on. We got into a lot of different context and then we ended up in super small farms in the middle of nowhere and those were the ones we were looking for.

Frederikke: So you say that the three farms were some of the best coffee you had, but there is also like a social aspect and can you tell more about exactly what that, was it about helping them, because they don't have that much? Were they exporting already before you went into business with them or did they sell it locally?

Alejandro: One of them he was exporting out of the country? Yiver, that is the one we work with mostly, most close with. It is the one that we visited and are planning programs with them, because she is like a leader of a women organization. They are women farmers who were affected by the conflict and she is also like a pioneer in organic agriculture. She has developed her methods and she goes around different regions, different farms in different regions. Like making allocation and programs for the women farmers that take care of their families, to improve their processes, make them more organic and simply make a living out of coffee. So we saw that through her, we could not only help her, but a huge community of people that actually need it.

Frederikke: But was that the same with the two other farms like with her?

Alejandro: I mean with her, that was like star farmer, but with the other ones, Willington in terms of crop scores that is the best coffee, are organic certified and so on and before we

got to him, he had already been in the specialty coffee farming for like three years and we got to him through our exporting partner, which is (name 12.14) and they are also bigger so that is how we got to him basically. They told us his story about his wife, sons, they are helping. We also kind of got in love with the story and we went for it. And with the Sierra Nevada, the other ones is an indigenous tribe in Colombia from Sierra Nevada. They are just around 2000 indigenous people from that tribe left. And we were told that they also make one of the best organic coffees in Colombia, so we went there. It was true. And we thought like why not also get into the most difficult thing of Colombia. I don't know if it is the most difficult, but a very difficult thing from a Latin American culture, the indigenous tribe and so on and if we can have an impact on them, perfect.

Theresa: So they run their coffee business or farm as a community effort?

Alejandro: Yeah so they basically. They have been growing coffee for centuries, but they do it in a (what 13.30) way. So for them it has always been organic. Not for the funds movement, but because that is the way they do it and yes they have always been. So when I first met the couple of business people, like indigenous business people, they told us that they use coffee as a tool to channel their spirits and stuff like that. So we were pulled by that.

Theresa: Wow that is definitely a new dimension I haven't heard anyone speak of that before.

Alejandro: Yeah and they make these rituals in the middle of the night in the mountains with all the stars and they take coffee in a different way and they were a little bit weird, because they put a lot of stuff you know like in the coffee.

Theresa: Okay, so they have a different way of preparing it. Well that is interesting.

Frederikke: But actually just because we also wanted to ask you about certification, especially because of what you wrote on your webpage about not working with Fairtrade, but you said just before, that Willington they have some kind of certificate.

Alejandro: All of our coffees are certified by Fairtrade. All of them, but they certify the farms, where they work and also the, well Yiver is not certified organic, but all of her processes are organic, so that is also an issue they have, to be certified and the (Sierra Nevada) and Willington they are certified as organic, but we cannot label them here for many reasons. So Fairtrade, we cannot certify, we are not interested in putting the stamps on our bags, after we found out that first of all, the farmers have to pay a fee to become certified by Fairtrade and then, but then also here we would have to pay the intermediary per kilo of coffee stamped by Fairtrade, but since we don't have all the intermediaries we have to pay to Fairtrade not to the farmer for every kilo imported, marketed, roasted, sold, so I asked them is that money going to the farmer or what, and they said no it is for the organization and I said okay I am not interested as simple as that. And for example Yiver, we were just with her a couple of weeks ago. She told me that she has a, she doesn't see Fairtrade as a bad thing, but she doesn't see it as a good thing either because she. The good thing is that they make a lot of guidelines so they can improve how they work and make it more structured within the farm, to treat it more as a business you know what I mean. But the bad thing is that they are paying to get international clients that look for the Fairtrade stamp, but it has

actually not really any claim after that, but they have to get that to pay for the certification and for the organic certification there is a lot of things going on, for example some farmers cannot be certified by the organic certification if the farm next door is not organic as well and it is just kind of stupid, but that is what it is. And also for example with the ones that are certified like Willington, we cannot use the stamp, because our roaster here is not certified as organic, so all the value chain has to be, but right now he just got certified, so hopefully we will be able to put the stamp.

Theresa: But then you would have to pay for that? To Fairtrade?

Alejandro: No no not the Fairtrade, the organic certification and would have to pay like a one time fee to certify Kaffe Bueno as organic, not the specific coffee.

Theresa: And what organic certificate is that? Because there is a number of them.

Alejandro: I think that it is the O, the red O.

Theresa: Oh the Danish one.

Alejandro: Yeah that is the Danish one, but for the green one, the European one.

Theresa: The flower or the leaf?

Alejandro: Yeah it is a little leaf. But Camillo knows a little bit more about certification. He is the legal stuff.

Theresa: Because the Café Horizontes, we visited they also talked a lot about the certifications and they had the UTZ and they used to have Fairtrade, but they didn't have it anymore because there were so many issues with it. Also a lot of scam with people borrowing each others certification stamps.

Alejandro: That is the thing around there. Everyone wants to take shortcuts. They don't want to think how they should be, but they just want to get easy and fast returns and you see it very different. Like the mentality is different.

Theresa: So we also, my friend and I, when we were in Colombia we went to different touristic coffee farms as well. Do any of the farms you work with have any sort of tourist or any other business on the side or is it strictly coffee growing?

Alejandro: No not tourist, but for example they also grow planting and Yuca and other crops. Not only to sell them, but their main purpose is to give them enough nutrients to coffee plants, such as planting for and also enough shade so it doesn't get directly exposed to sun, which is bad for specialty coffee, but yeah just different crops, but not tourism. They are, even to get to the farm, it is super difficult.

Theresa: Have you been to any of the tourist farms? Have you been on like a coffee tour?

Alejandro: Yeah.



Theresa: What did you think?

Alejandro: Yeah it is very beautiful. It was very nice, but it is. I don't know how to put it. Imagine, I don't know how to put it in a perspective, but it is like a for foreigners to sort of like a mask of telling them: This is all perfect. But it is not.

Frederikke: When did you move away from Colombia?

Alejandro: 2013.

Frederikke: Growing up in Colombia, was there any coffee tourism, when you were younger?

Alejandro: The only coffee tourist trip that I did was when I was very little with my family. Very young. Probably when I was like 11 years old. And we just went to the coffee region and did some tours. It was not as big as it is now because I hear a lot of people from here, like friends from Europe always saying like yeah I went to this coffee trip, so cool and yeah it also influences that 10 years ago, nobody wanted to go to Colombia, because it was dangerous, but now it is cool so.

Frederikke: Is coffee in Colombia. You said in the beginning that what you experience with coffee here in Scandinavia is a lot different then in Colombia, so is coffee something which everybody drinks or is it something that you grew up with in Colombia?

Alejandro: Yeah everybody drinks it. They call it *tinto* there.

Theresa: I had some.

Alejandro: *Tinto* is fucking bitter and coffee shouldn't be bitter. The bitterness comes when it is over roasted and it is over roasted if it has a lot of defects, like physical defects that need to be heated. And that is why all the coffee in Colombia is bitter, because the bad coffee stays. But usually in your houses like at home they did something that was very sweet, probably with a lot of sugar.

Theresa: I know what that is.

Alejandro: So for us that was good. It tasted good and they were able to try. They were not as good. But now I found a type of coffee I have never tried before, which I had never tried before, which was the specialty coffee. It didn't need anything to be good.

Theresa: What do you mean when you say specialty coffee?

Alejandro: That it has been grown in, so first of all the seed part I guess. I don't know how to explain and then also like the way you brew it. You treat specialty coffee differently, but for example if you brew shit coffee as you brew specialty coffee it is going to taste like shit anyways, because it is shit coffee, but specialty coffee is basically. In coffee you have a

scoring system so for it to be considered specialty it needs to score over 85 points. It is a spectrum from 1-100.

Theresa: So it is more about the type of bean and how that has been grown and not so much if you brew this cappuccino or latte or?

Alejandro: No it is exactly how it has been grown and how it is roasted. Everything that.  
*[Long pause due to technical difficulties]*

Alejandro: You know if you have Instagram. Can you go to the Kaffe Bueno?

Theresa: Yes.

Frederikke: Yeah I mean I can do something, but not if it calls ...  
*[Pause where Alejandro shows us a video on the Kaffe Bueno Instagram account]*

Alejandro: What he is saying is. What they are calling (something) is the bad stuff. And the (something) is the one that floats after they take away the pulp. When they. So they de-pulp the coffee and yeah you can see it here. When they de-pulp the coffee and put it into water, the ones that stay down are dense enough, so water density is one, so the ones that are above one they are not going to float. And the ones that float are the ones that need to stay in the local market, because they are not good. And this is what I can show you. So they are about to be de-pulped here (video) then they go down through that machine, then to the water. And the ones that stay up they are bad, local market. The ones that are at the bottom, special coffee.

Theresa: When we saw these processing happen at the farms that we visited I think like at least 95 percent, maybe not that much, but the vast majority did stay down, so they were good.

Alejandro: That was probably a specialty coffee farm, because you know they make it dense through also through the processes that goes into the growing, through the soil and the climate within the farm.

Theresa: I think it is very good coffee there and they export it to Denmark.

Alejandro: Yeah yeah, if they export it to Denmark it is probably good. But that is the thing for example with the story of my, with the story of my friends father in, that he has a big farm and all. It doesn't mean it is bad coffee. They have really good coffee and really high quantity. So they are exporting a lot to a lot of different parts of the world, but it is amazing coffee. They just simply have more capability than the small farms.

Theresa: So did you say you didn't really learn about this whole specialty coffee culture or environment before you came to London?

Alejandro: Yeah exactly.

Theresa: So all you used to drink was this one type of very sweet coffee in your home or the bitter *tinto* in the street?

Alejandro: Yeah and also the specialty coffee culture or so started in what 2005 or something.

Theresa: In Europe at least.

Alejandro: So I came to know it like 10 years after it started, but I think the year when I discovered it, it was booming in London, so it was really. I couldn't ignore it, because everyone was talking about it.

Theresa: And have you seen any difference since you have been back to Colombia, since you left or since you in London discovered kind of this new world of coffee?

Alejandro: The difference in terms of what?

Theresa: In terms of what kind of coffee is consumed in Colombia. Is it still *tinto*?

Alejandro: Well mostly yeah. The older generations are super against specialty coffee. They don't even know that specialty coffee is a thing, but at the same time in there have been some appearance of some specialty coffee shops in Bogota and Medellin. In Medellin there are a lot and they said it is getting trendy as well, but if you see the demographic of the people that go to that places are millennials mostly. Older people are against it. Not all of them of course, because I have met people within the coffee industry that are super knowledgeable and all that, but yeah.

Theresa: Why do you think older people are against it?

Alejandro: Because they grew up with coffee as. How I have noticed is that you cannot tell a 60 year old person how to drink a beverage that he has been drinking for 60 years. And you are 20 something. You are a boy in his eyes, so like what the fuck does he know. That is what they think. They are just a little bit sceptic to change.

Theresa: So it is basically just. It is an objection to change and not so much to something coming from the outside?

Alejandro: when they try the specialty coffee for example they say it is too soft or too light, but that is because it miss the bitterness that they are used to. So if it lack the bitterness than they think it is not strong enough. But what is strong coffee? Strong coffee, if you think about it, it is high in caffeine. And the more you roast it, the more you burn the caffeine content, so it is basically the opposite way around.

Theresa: But I guess it is just a matter of what word you use to describe it and they use strong to describe bitter.

Alejandro: Exactly.

Theresa: So you said when you went to the tourism coffee farm that you have been on that it was a kind of a mask. Do you see ...

Alejandro: So I think when I say that I am already a little bit biased because I just came from talking to Yiver, but continue with your question.

Theresa: Do you think there is a difference in how coffee is promoted or presented to foreign tourists and to Colombians?

Alejandro: Yeah totally.

Theresa: What is the difference?

Alejandro: So now I am a little bit talking, not how I was thinking when I lived in Colombia, but more after getting into the whole coffee world and talking to farmers mostly and they always complain about what people, what foreigners see when they go to Colombia. It is what the La Federación Nacional want them to see.

Theresa: is Juan Valdéz a part of that?

Alejandro: Juan Valdéz is yes, but Juan Valdéz is basically a face of what is represented by coffee in Colombia and that is La Federación Nacional. I think, I might be wrong, but I think that the brand is owned by La Federación Nacional and the thing is that they act and give these awards, I actually just published an article in Kaffe Bueno. They play as judge and players so they are the ones who decide what coffee goes out of the country, what standards to follow and everything, but they are also being players, so they are also benefiting or monetizing what they judge, so clearly the way of how they judge is very biased and they benefit.

And to answer your question about the difference how I see it presented to foreigners I can also tell that (name) she told me the La Federación Nacional they know the big guys, the big players, such as for example the father of my friend, so when tourists come they want them to perceive the most, I mean it is understandable they want them to have a good image of the coffee culture in Colombia, so in those terms it is better for a better experience, or they think it is a better experience for the tourist to go to a very developed farm and have the full experience so to say and see these big plantations of coffee and all the machines and all that, but the percentage of big farmers like that. It is minimum in comparison to all of the farmers in Colombia. I would say like those super big farmers that tourists are presented to are like the 5 to 10 percent of the overall farmers, so if the intention of the tourists is to have, to go for an attraction than yeah that is super cool, but if you want to see like real situation of the coffee world in Colombia, you should go to a small farm.

Frederikke: So when you went on coffee tours as a Colombian, was it presented to you differently because you are from Colombia, so they know that you know?

Alejandro: They make comments, like these types of comments of the La Federación Nacional that like since you are from Colombia, they think of it as a common knowledge, so for example they make jokes about how La Federación Nacional fucks up, but it is in a way

that it is funny for the Colombian crowd, so like everybody knows that they fuck us, but like what can we do.

Theresa: We went to a few different coffee attractions, some of the farms, to a coffee theme park and a few other places as well and I noticed the difference in how coffee was staged or presented in whether it was for a Colombian audience, Colombian tourists or international tourists and when it was Colombian tourists it was aimed at for instance at the coffee theme park, I think we were the only two there who were not Colombian and they focused a lot on folklore and the history and the farmers' history, but in none of the tourist coffee farms we went to, it was only foreigners.

Alejandro: And it is because Colombian people, most of the people, don't see coffee as this wonderful thing, but just something that is there in your daily life. You take it for granted, drink it and not a super hype. But for people travelling to Colombia, for example Denmark it is more about "wow, I like the notes of this coffee and this one I prefer, lalala". So it is more about like wine or beer, rather than just something to keep you alive.

Frederikke: So do you think these coffee farms who has tourists. How do they find out that foreign tourists want to know about the coffee in this exclusive way and then they do it for their sake?

Alejandro: yeah a 100 percent. They are business people and you have to know who is your audience and what are they interested in.

And for example to Colombian people if you for example these vacations, these holidays that I was in at home I brewed the coffee I took some of the equipment that I brew, super geeky at home, here and then I took it to my place and people were just like, what the fuck are you doing? And they just see it like that, it is just coffee. But for example here when we do the geeky stuff people are interested in that, but there they are like what the fuck. So I guess there is a difference.

Theresa: But it is also something that kind of struck me, when we were thinking about these different experiences was that it seemed like the tourism actors didn't think that foreigners would be interested in the dances and the music and everything that goes with the farmers culture.

Alejandro: You were not introduced to this in the foreigner part?

Theresa: No we were only introduced to it via, because we had this personal contact at a local farm that didn't have any tourism and she wanted to show us, because it was part of her culture I guess. She thought it might be interesting for us and so she showed us, but someone, a local person pointed out to us that, "oh there is a coffee attraction for Colombians, it is very folkloric, it is dances, it is music, it's really bad", so he thought it wouldn't be anything interesting for foreigners and that struck me as interesting.

Alejandro: I didn't know that first of all, but if I try to understand it from a Colombian point of view it is probably because Colombian people or at least the Colombian people that have not been outside Colombia, they think of foreigners as like elegant and exclusive and shit

and they see the Colombian stuff that is super folkloric may need to be hidden to I don't know how to say what I want to say.

Theresa: I think I understand what you are getting at.

Alejandro: Like yeah lets show them the exclusive shit and not the folkloric and typical Colombian. I guess that is it, but I don't know why they didn't because I know the people from here and from Europe would be super interested in the folkloric stuff because that is the different part.

Theresa: Exactly.

Alejandro: That is just poor market research, I guess.

Theresa: Yeah well that was just my interpretation, but I was interested in what you thought.

Alejandro: Well yeah I am learning something new.

Frederikke: What do you think about coffee tourism, so that coffee is becoming a commodification and a tourism attraction in Colombia?

Alejandro: Well first of all, coffee has been a commodity for decades, besides it is the second.

Theresa: More the experience of coffee.

Alejandro: No I am sure that coffee is the second most traded commodity in the stock market after oil and then what I think about getting tourism, well I think it is good for the country's economy and also good in terms of showing people a cool side of Colombia, instead of what you are just presented here, like Narcos and that stupid shit, so we are, I think it is really cool, but they should also introduce you to the real side of it.

Frederikke: So you think that what they are showing right now is not the real part of it?

Alejandro: Tourism is about being, showing the good stuff, so I cannot be against it, but they should also open the possibilities for the people who want the real experience. I know a lot of people that would prefer that tourism park thing.

Frederikke: Because we talked about. What you experienced when you were in Colombia, was a bit the same that you say that coffee is not something that is interesting for Colombians, it is just something you drink so that the only reason you are doing all this, is for foreign tourists, so it was more in terms of if you thought that that was strange?

Theresa: We see a clash between all what the Colombians are saying, "what are you doing with all your fancy brewing stuff? I just want my *tinto*" and all these people setting up fancy coffee things for tourists.



Alejandro: I think that is a little bit of globalization as well because it is a huge trend that is right now and still growing. For example here where it is very developed you still have people that have no idea what specialty coffee is or they simply just want their fucking coffee, but you can see that there in a smaller scale so Colombia as a country has noticed the trend, so I think that is a way of monetizing it and also perhaps growing their exposure to people and I think.

T/F: To Colombian people or?

Alejandro: To foreigners, but Colombian government has been investing a lot in tourism as well to show the good side of Colombia against everything that people think Colombia or is influenced by.

Theresa: There was a tour guide in Bogotá that told us that the government was actually sending people, has some kind of training program for coffee tourism, to train farmers, I think.

Alejandro: To train farmers?

Theresa: Yeah to receive tourists, to support this whole development.

Alejandro: Okay no I didn't know about it, but I know they, not the whole Colombian government, but a region of the government, they sponsor educational programs, like Sana? Sana is the public university where farmers can go and get trained technical stuff they are not trained in, in the farm. For example how to cup of coffee or know the science inside the coffee or the plants so they can know how to overcome the climatic changes that are destroying the crops, so like that. So I guess they train them.

Theresa: So they also actually train them in the sort of, the things that is only the coffee, like brewing in a certain way or?

Alejandro: No, yeah cupping coffee has become essential in terms of a lot of buyers even in the Colombian market and the foreigners they know how to cup, maybe let us say you are a farmer, I am a buyer and you have a coffee of 90 points. It is worth a lot, but you don't know what you are growing. For you it is just coffee and for a lot of farmers it is still just fucking coffee. So they cup it. They know you don't know, so instead of paying you what it deserves, they pay you shit, so that is why it is important that the farmers know how to cup.

Theresa: So they actually know the value of the product.

Alejandro: Exactly. It is not for tourism.

Theresa: That makes perfect sense. Can you [to Frederikke] think of any other questions to ask?

Frederikke: No I can't think of anything right now. If we. Because again, we just started so, when we get more into our project, if we have any question, can we send them to you?

Alejandro: Yeah. I think it would be even easier that you come again and I can tell you because then I can just say everything.

Theresa: That is fine. We are very close by.

Frederikke: Yeah we are sitting at the university here in Sydhavn.

Alejandro: Ok perfect.

Frederikke: That is what we want to know right now, but when we start writing and reading other things, we might have more questions, then we will let you know.

Alejandro: I am usually, since we went to this trip. I have a lot of content now. So if you go to our website you can find a lot of stuff. Usually I update it a lot. This is from today.

Theresa: Yeah I looked yesterday and that wasn't there.

Alejandro: And it was like a black thing like a farmers brew something like that, but I think this one will be more interesting for you. It is talking about like the organic farming in Colombia and how has been a pioneer in it and also talks about the La Federación Nacional and how they are, what I just said basically and some more farmers. The transition to organic coffee. Something with the organic fertilizers.

Theresa: I actually did want to ask you another thing that the *café campesino* that you have the recipe for. We were in quite a lot of different like specialty coffee shops in Medellin and I only saw *café campesino* in one and I asked what it was and they told me and I said ok let us try that, but I find it interesting that even in the specialty coffee stores, what they serve are like the Italian coffee drinks and not actually the Colombian specialty.

Alejandro: I think that is what I said that people in Colombia that think foreign stuff is the shit, but they are ashamed of the proper Colombian stuff so for example if you ask me something something 49.35, but simply because it is like shit, but it is not, it is really good.

Theresa: Very sweet.

Alejandro: yeah very sweet, but I actually brought *panela* with me and I make my own *campesino* at home.

Theresa: Because it really struck me, when Colombia actually has its own local drink than why not put that on there, but they don't.

Alejandro: Maybe I am wrong and it is simply because the *panela* is expensive, but well it is not. I am just thinking of reasons for why would they not put it.

Theresa: My best guess is that you were right first what you said.

Theresa: Thank you very much.

Frederikke: Thank you so much.

## 8.8 Sampling of secondary data

### Sampling 1 UNESCO

The process for sampling the UNESCO website for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Entering the site for the UNESCO World Heritage List (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/>) and searching for 'Colombia', then selecting the 'Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia' (CCLC).
- 2) Going through the horizontal menu and selecting all textual material fulfilling one or several of the following criteria: Concerns tourism in the region, the establishment of the CCLC, the actors involved in the CCLC, definitions and characteristics of the CCLC.
- 3) Following links on the pages and assessing the relevance of the material according to the criteria outlined in Point 2.
- 4) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (n.d.). Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia - Description. Retrieved March 05, 2018, from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121>
  - b) UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (n.d.). Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia - Maps. Retrieved March 05, 2018, from [http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121/multiple=1&unique\\_number=1787](http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121/multiple=1&unique_number=1787)
  - c) Zapata, P., & Ortega, L. (2010). *Coffee Cultural Landscape Nomination File* (Rep.). Retrieved March 05, 2018, from <http://whc.unesco.org/uploads/nominations/1121.pdf>
  - d) World Heritage Committee. (2012). *Convention concerning the protection of the world cultural and natural heritage, thirty-sixth session* (Rep.). Retrieved March 06, 2018, from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2012/whc12-36com-8B-Add-en.pdf>
  - e) UNESCO World Heritage Centre. (n.d.). Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia - Best Practice. Retrieved March 06, 2018, from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121/bestpractice/>
  - f) Ministerio de Cultura y Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). Best Practice Submission Form (Rep.). Retrieved March 06, 2018, from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1121/bestpractice/>
- 5) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

### Sampling 2 FNC

The process for sampling the FNC website for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Entering the webpage of the FNC  
<https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/>
- 2) Choosing Newsroom in the menu, giving us access to all articles written by the FNC and going through the articles one by one searching for topics concerning: The CCLC, work with UNESCO, strategic plans for tourism development, and branding of Colombian coffee.
- 3) Through the articles we followed links which were presented to gain more information.
- 4) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2011, August 19). Café de Cauca recognized by the SIC as a protected denomination of origin. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/cafe\\_de\\_cauca\\_recognized\\_by\\_the\\_sic\\_as\\_a\\_protected\\_denomination\\_of\\_origin/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/cafe_de_cauca_recognized_by_the_sic_as_a_protected_denomination_of_origin/)
  - b) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2011, July 12). Colombia's Coffee Cultural Landscape proclaimed a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/colombias\\_coffee\\_cultural\\_landscape\\_proclaimed\\_a\\_unesco\\_world\\_heritage\\_site/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/colombias_coffee_cultural_landscape_proclaimed_a_unesco_world_heritage_site/)
  - c) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2014, December 04). Quality, differentiation and added value: the future of Colombian coffee. Retrieved April 04, 2018,  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas\\_noticias/quality\\_and\\_differentiation\\_and\\_added\\_value\\_the\\_future\\_of\\_colombian\\_coffee/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas_noticias/quality_and_differentiation_and_added_value_the_future_of_colombian_coffee/)
  - d) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2015, February 9). Brand strategy of the Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia: A global benchmark. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas\\_noticias/brand\\_strategy\\_of\\_the\\_coffee\\_cultural\\_landscape\\_of\\_colombia\\_a\\_global\\_benchmark/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas_noticias/brand_strategy_of_the_coffee_cultural_landscape_of_colombia_a_global_benchmark/)
  - e) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2015, April). FNC's CEO determines future agenda with leaders of Japanese coffee industry. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas\\_noticias/fncs\\_ceo\\_determines\\_future\\_agenda\\_with\\_leaders\\_of\\_japanese\\_coffee\\_industry/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas_noticias/fncs_ceo_determines_future_agenda_with_leaders_of_japanese_coffee_industry/)
  - f) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2015, August). 1st international coffee day will take place in October. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas\\_noticias/1st\\_international\\_coffee\\_day\\_will\\_take\\_place\\_in\\_october/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/buenas_noticias/1st_international_coffee_day_will_take_place_in_october/)
  - g) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2016, October 6). Global market trends provide important opportunities for Colombian specialty coffee. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from  
[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/global\\_market\\_trends\\_provide\\_important\\_opportunities\\_for\\_colombian\\_specialty\\_coffee/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/global_market_trends_provide_important_opportunities_for_colombian_specialty_coffee/)
  - h) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2017, July 11). Coffee-producing countries call for joining efforts in favor of farmers' sustainability. Retrieved

April 04, 2018, from

[https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/coffee-](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/coffee-)

[producing\\_countries\\_call\\_for\\_joining\\_efforts\\_in\\_favor\\_of\\_farmers\\_sus/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/coffee-producing_countries_call_for_joining_efforts_in_favor_of_farmers_sus/)

- i) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2017, October 21). Colombia has a new national barista, cup taster and brewer champions. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/colombia\\_has\\_new\\_national\\_barista\\_cup\\_taster\\_and\\_brewer\\_champions/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/colombia_has_new_national_barista_cup_taster_and_brewer_champions/)
  - j) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2017, March 30). The Coca-Cola foundation, Technoserve and FNC team up to empower female coffee farmers. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/the\\_coca-cola\\_foundation\\_technoserve\\_and\\_fnc\\_team\\_up\\_to\\_empower\\_female\\_coff/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/the_coca-cola_foundation_technoserve_and_fnc_team_up_to_empower_female_coff/)
  - k) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (2017, June 27). The FNC celebrates today 90 years of building a coffee country. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala\\_de\\_prensa/detalle/the\\_fnc\\_celebrates\\_today\\_90\\_years\\_of\\_building\\_a\\_coffee\\_country/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/sala_de_prensa/detalle/the_fnc_celebrates_today_90_years_of_building_a_coffee_country/)
  - l) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). About us. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/quienes\\_somos](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/quienes_somos)
  - m) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). Promotion and advertising. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que\\_hacemos/comercializacion\\_del\\_cafe\\_colombiano/instrumentos/promocion\\_y\\_publicidad/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que_hacemos/comercializacion_del_cafe_colombiano/instrumentos/promocion_y_publicidad/)
  - n) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). Purchase guarantee. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que\\_hacemos/comercializacion\\_del\\_cafe\\_colombiano/instrumentos/garantia\\_de\\_compra/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que_hacemos/comercializacion_del_cafe_colombiano/instrumentos/garantia_de_compra/)
  - o) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). Quality control. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que\\_hacemos/comercializacion\\_del\\_cafe\\_colombiano/instrumentos/seguimiento\\_de\\_calidad/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que_hacemos/comercializacion_del_cafe_colombiano/instrumentos/seguimiento_de_calidad/)
  - p) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). The commercialization of Colombian coffee. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que\\_hacemos/comercializacion\\_del\\_cafe\\_colombiano/](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que_hacemos/comercializacion_del_cafe_colombiano/)
  - q) Federación Nacional de Cafeteros. (n.d.). The federation representative system. Retrieved April 04, 2018, from [https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que\\_hacemos/representacion\\_gremia](https://www.federaciondecafeteros.org/particulares/en/que_hacemos/representacion_gremia)
- 5) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

### Sampling 3 the Tourism Ministry

The process for sampling the Colombian Tourism Ministry websites for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Entering the websites, one by one, for the Tourism Ministry:
  - a) Mincit: Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo  
[http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/34003/direccion\\_de\\_analisis\\_sectorial\\_y\\_promocion](http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/34003/direccion_de_analisis_sectorial_y_promocion)
  - b) Citur: Centro de Información Turística de Colombia, platform under Mincit  
<http://www.citur.gov.co>
  - c) Fontur: Fondo de Promoción Turística
- 2) Going through the menu and selecting all textual material fulfilling one or several of the following criteria: Concerns tourism in the Coffee region, the establishment of the CCLC, the actors involved in the CCLC, definitions and characteristics of coffee tourism and the Coffee Region.
- 3) Following links on the pages and assessing the relevance of the material according to the criteria outlined in Point 2.
- 4) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo. (n.d.). *Experiencias turísticas únicas - Paisaje Cultural Cafetero* (Publication). Retrieved March 07, 2018, from  
[http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/34018/experiencias\\_unicas](http://www.mincit.gov.co/minturismo/publicaciones/34018/experiencias_unicas)
  - b) Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo. (2011). *Estrategia de turismo para Colombia Parte A* (Rep.). Retrieved March 10, 2018, from  
<http://www.fontur.com.co/corporativo/estudios-realizados/20>
  - c) Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo. (2011). *Estrategia de turismo para Colombia Parte B* (Rep.). Retrieved March 10, 2018, from  
<http://www.fontur.com.co/corporativo/estudios-realizados/20>
  - d) FONTUR & Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo. (2014). *Producto Turístico Paisaje Cultural Cafetero* (Rep.). Retrieved March 10, 2018, from  
<http://www.fontur.com.co/corporativo/estudios-realizados/20>
  - e) Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo. (n.d.). Coffee Cultural Landscape Routes drove formal employment and new businesses in the region. Retrieved March 03, 2018, from  
[http://www.mincit.gov.co/englishmin/publicaciones/33899/coffee\\_cultural\\_landscape\\_routes\\_drove\\_formal\\_employment\\_and\\_new\\_businesses\\_in\\_the\\_region](http://www.mincit.gov.co/englishmin/publicaciones/33899/coffee_cultural_landscape_routes_drove_formal_employment_and_new_businesses_in_the_region)
- 5) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

#### **Sampling 4 Lonely Planet before 2011 (from 2009)**

Lonely Planet description of the Coffee Region before 2011 when the area became a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

- Porup, J., Raub, K., Reid, R., & Soriano, C. (2009). *Colombia. Footscray, Victoria.: Lonely Planet Publications.*



The process for sampling the Lonely Planet Colombia guidebook for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Searching for the terms 'coffee' and 'Zona Cafetera' in the e-book.
- 2) Going through the hits and selecting all textual material fulfilling one or several of the following criteria: Concerns tourism in the Coffee Region, definitions and characteristics of coffee tourism and the Coffee Region, concerns Colombian coffee culture.
- 3) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) Page 36: Fact box: Colombian Coffee
  - b) Page 71: Excerpt from the chapter: Drinks
  - c) Pages 491-535: Excerpts from chapter: Zona Cafetera
- 4) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

### **Sampling 5 Lonely planet after 2011 (from 2015)**

Lonely Planet description of the Coffee Region after 2011 when the area became a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

- Egerton, A., Masters, T., & Raub, K. (2015). *Colombia (7th ed.)*. Footscray, Victoria: Lonely Planet Publications Pty.

The process for sampling the Lonely Planet Colombia guidebook for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Searching for the terms 'coffee' and 'Zona Cafetera' in the e-book.
- 2) Going through the hits and selecting all textual material fulfilling one or several of the following criteria: Concerns tourism in the Coffee Region, definitions and characteristics of coffee tourism and the Coffee Region, concerns Colombian coffee culture.
- 3) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) Page 34: Top 21 experiences
  - b) Page 71: Excerpt from the chapter: Itineraries
  - c) Page 91: Regions at a glance: Medellín & Zona Cafetera
  - d) Pages 136-137: Examples of mentioning of coffee in food and drink offers - and 'import' of Western coffee culture
  - e) Page 414: Excerpt from chapter: Medellín & Zona Cafetera
  - f) Page 651: Fact Box: Colombian coffee
  - g) Page 696: Fact Box: Cafe Country
- 4) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

### **Sampling 6 Infomedia**

The process for sampling Infomedia for relevant secondary data concerning the Coffee Region consisted of the following steps:

- 1) Entering Infomedia <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/>

- 2) Searching for *Colombia*, *Kaffe*, *Turisme* to get access to Danish articles giving us 26 articles. We chose those articles which included sections about the meaning of coffee in Colombia and articles discussing the Coffee Region and lastly those which discussed coffee tourism in particular. The second search was for just *Colombia* and *Kaffe*. Here, we looked through 47 articles and chose the relevant articles based on the criteria listed in the previous sentence.
- 3) Selecting the following secondary data:
  - a) Christensen, O. K. (2016, December 13). Nye destinationer i Colombia fra Europa. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://www.check-in.dk/nye-destinationer-i-colombia-fra-europa/>
  - b) Ganderup, M. B. (2018, March 03). Vil uddanne 40.000 personer: Peter Larsen Kaffe satser stort på fremtidens kaffebønne. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://www.business.dk/detailhandel/vil-uddanne-40.000-personer-peter-larsen-kaffe-satser-stort-paa>
  - c) Harritshøj, R. V. (2014, December 31). Guide: Colombia er mere end kaffe og kokain. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from [http://rejser.guide.dk/Kulturferie/Colombia/Kultur/Historie/Seværdigheder/Naturoplevelser/Etnisk/Colombia\\_er\\_mere\\_end\\_kaffe\\_og\\_kokain\\_7304166](http://rejser.guide.dk/Kulturferie/Colombia/Kultur/Historie/Seværdigheder/Naturoplevelser/Etnisk/Colombia_er_mere_end_kaffe_og_kokain_7304166)
  - d) Hermann, L. J. (2014, September 18). Fra kokain til kaffe. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/>
  - e) Hermann, L. J. (2014, October 17). Colombia: Fra narkoland til erhvervs- og turistdestination. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://www.dr.dk/nyheder/udland/colombia-fra-narkoland-til-erhvervs-og-turistdestination>
  - f) Juul, F. (2014, October 17). Colombias turisme blomstrer. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/>
  - g) Jyllands-Posten (2014, October 25). Colombia tiltrækker turister. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/>
  - h) Jørgensen, K. (2018, February 10). Oplev autentiske Colombia. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://ekstrabladet.dk/ferie/udland/oplev-autentiske-colombia/7025945>
  - i) Nybo, J. H. (2016, December 24). Colombia for fuld musik. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://www.b.dk/rejseliv/colombia-for-fuld-musik>
  - j) Olsen, V. (2018, March 15). Landet der genopfandt sig selv. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://apps-infomedia-dk.zorac.aub.aau.dk/mediemarkiv/>
  - k) Skov, M., & Quistgaard, U. F. (2017, May 11). Kys... og kokain. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://www.information.dk/kultur/2009/04/kys-kokain>
  - l) Sørensen, A. M. (2017, December 28). Et fredeligere Colombia slår dørene op til bæredygtig turisme. Retrieved April 03, 2018, from <https://politiken.dk/rejser/art6249764/Et-fredeligere-Colombia-slår-dørene-op-til-bæredygtig-turisme>
- 4) Reading and coding all of the selected data. During the analytical process, we found some of the coded data to be superfluous and repetitive. Therefore, the reference list does not include all of the originally selected and coded material.

